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ABSTRACT

These proceedings of the five-day seminar (the first meeting of the Interantional Communication Division outside the United States) contain almost 50 papers or oral presentations, plus introductions by the editors. Most papers and presentations deal in some way with Mexico or Latin America, with a few dealing with the United States. Contents are divided into the following seven categories: the current status of the Mexican mass media, journalism education and research in the Americas, aspects of cross-cultural research and communication, communication and development, aspects of media and government interplay, Latin America and the printed word, and public relations and advertising. (JH)

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Mass Communication in Mexico

Proceedings of the March 11-15, 1974 Seminar in Mexico, D. F.

Sponsored by the International Communication Division
and the Departamento de Comunicacion,
Universidad Iberoamericana

Edited by
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University of Georgia
and
Richard R. Cole
University of North Carolina

for the
International Communication Division
of the
Association for Education in Journalism

December 1975

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This publication is dedicated to

Prof. John C. Merrill
of the University of Missouri
who had the idea for the seminar and carried it out

and to

Profs. Jesus M. Cortina and Josep Rota
of Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D. F.,
who worked so hard to make the seminar a success

This publication is being sent free to all current members of the International Communication Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and to many professors, students, journalists and others in Mexico and other Latin American countries. A copy is being sent to all U. S. journalism schools accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism.

Additional copies may be purchased for \$3 each from Prof. Vernon A. Keel at the address below.

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Contents

Introduction	111
Welcome to the Seminar by Ramona R. Rush	iv
Part 1: The Current Status of the Mexican Mass Media	1
The Mexican Press by Romulo O'Farrill	2
The Mexican Press System: Selected Aspects of Growth, Control and Ownership by Richard R. Cole	11
Remarks by R. Bruce Underwood	37
Remarks by James H. Budd	39
Remarks by Alejandro Junco de la Vega	41
Remarks by Romulo O'Farrill	42
Questions and Answers	44
The Basics of Broadcasting Controls in Mexico and the United States by Harold A. Fisher	48
Part 2: Journalism Education and Research in the Americas	53
Remarks by Jesus M. Cortina	54
Remarks by Josep Rota	56
Remarks by Alejandro Junco de la Vega	58
Remarks by Joseph A. Taylor	59
Research and Other Matters in Journalism Education by Leslie G. Moeller	61
Part 3: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Research and Communication	63
Special Problems Facing a Communications Researcher in Another Culture by Raymond B. Nixon	64
International News Communicators: A Cross-Cultural Analysis by Hamid Mowlana	73
The Contradiction of Cross-Cultural Communication by L. John Martin	88
Part 4: Communication and Development	99
Remarks by Robert E. Simmons	101
The Mass Media and the Development and Dissemination of National Goals by Leslie G. Moeller	103
Mass Communication and National Development Objectives by Hamid Mowlana	115
Remarks by Ralph L. Lowenstein	121
Remarks by Pablo Pindas	122
A Department of Communication and Community Development: A Conceptual Framework by Carol Lee Hilewick	123

Part 5: Aspects of Media and Government Interplay	133
Governments in a Changing World Communications Environment by Wilson P. Dizard	134
Problems of U.S. Communicators Abroad by Paul B. Snider	142
Problems Facing a Government Communicator in a Foreign Country by Marvin Alisky	144
The Information War by John Lee	146
Remarks by Michael H. Prosser	153
Remarks by John R. Wilhelm	155
Remarks by Milton Hollstein	156
Remarks by Robert N. Pierce	157
Remarks by John D. Mitchell	159
Remarks by Elden E. Rawlings	164
Remarks by John H. Boyer	166
Remarks by Richard Petrow	170
Part 6: Latin America and the Printed Word	178
Remarks by Francisco Prieto Echaso	179
Observations on the Press in Latin America by Hector Davalos H.	180
Remarks by Juan Resendiz Picasso	182
Remarks by Rafael Santos	185
Teaching Strategies for Cross-Cultural Communication by H. Ned Seelye	186
Part 7: Public Relations and Advertising	191
What's the Message in International Public Relations by Doug Newsom	192
Brief Reflections on the State of International Advertising by Mel Adams	201
Advertising Education in the United States: A Survey of the Introductory Course by E. S. Lorimor	203
Remarks by Ramon Pros	208
Remarks by Joe F. Levels	209
Remarks by Frank Pierce	210
Remarks by Milton Gross	211

INTRODUCTION

About the seminar: The five-day seminar was the first meeting of the International Communication Division outside the United States. Because of the close ties in scholarship, research and interest between Mexico and the United States, it was especially appropriate that the seminar was held in Mexico.

Approximately 120 persons registered for and attended; others, most of them Universidad Iberoamericana students and Mexican journalists, attended several sessions. Professors came from several Latin American countries and from many parts of the United States. This large attendance and active participation made the seminar an unqualified success.

Special thanks go to Professors Jesus M. Cortina and Josep Rota and their school for being such excellent hosts, and to Mr. Romulo O'Farrill for his excellent participation in the seminar and for his most gracious hospitality and support.

Special thanks go to John C. Merrill, Ramona Rush and others in the United States for their work in establishing and organizing the seminar.

About these proceedings: These proceedings contain almost 50 papers or oral presentations, plus introductions by the editors. Most papers and presentations deal in some way with Mexico or Latin America, although some deal with the United States almost exclusively. They are grouped into seven parts, almost wholly according to the way the seminar program was organized.

Written papers receive lengthier treatment here than oral presentations because there was no budget or secretarial help available to the editors to transcribe the entire proceedings from the tape recordings. Because of those financial limitations, and because of limited space, the editors made summaries of oral presentations from the tape recordings. Unfortunately, the public relations session was not taped, and the tape of the broadcast session on the last afternoon of the seminar was so poor that it was impossible to make summaries. To participants who made oral presentations in those sessions, our sincere apologies.

Footnotes in written papers were left in the style of the individual author, for the most part.

It is sincerely regretted that these proceedings are not being published in Spanish also, but that is impossible without financial backing. Numerous efforts to secure a publisher for these proceedings were made. Now it is through the financial support of the International Communication Division, and the consideration of Dr. Vernon A. Keel for the use of typing and printing facilities at South Dakota State University, that they are published. Our sincere thanks to the Division and to Dr. Keel.--The Editors

WELCOME TO THE SEMINAR

By Ramona R. Rush, University of Florida
1973-74 Head, International Communication Division

On behalf of the International Communication Division, I would like to welcome you to the first Division conference outside the United States. Our excellent host is the Department of Communication at Iberoamericana University.

There is not time to thank each of you for your contributions to this seminar. But there are a few persons I want to single out because we owe them a tremendous debt of gratitude. They have worked steadily for one year to keep the wheels turning toward Mexico.

There is one person in particular who has made this seminar more than just a passing good idea--Dr. John Calhoun Merrill. As 1972-73 Head of the Division, he took the initiative to come here, and to secure the cooperation of our host university and faculty. The Division is hoping to continue the annual conference which Prof. Merrill initiated.

Dr. Salcedo, you honor us greatly by providing these beautiful facilities of the Universidad Iberoamericana--a center of excellence in Latin American education. Professor Cortina, the hard work for the implementation of this seminar has fallen on your shoulders. We thank you and your faculty and staff for this tremendous effort. I am confident that the information and research exchanged during this week will be utilized for years to come in professional and research cooperation.

If I were to point to one special group to which to express my gratitude for their attendance here, it would be the students from Latin America and the United States, many of whom traveled a long way at their own expense. This indicates to me that the study and teaching of international communication is assured a continuous and outstanding future. You will be the leaders tomorrow.

It is my firm belief that the Division has taken great strides toward aiding international cooperation and understanding among persons around the world who share a common interest in the field. The Division is no longer only Americans talking to Americans, but a group of international persons discussing mass communication. Our largest effort in this direction is being realized in this week-long seminar.

When astronaut Neil Armstrong first set foot on the moon, he said: "It's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind." With all humility in comparison, let me say that this seminar is one small step for scholarly understanding of human communication behavior.

Part I

THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE MEXICAN MASS MEDIA

The first paper in this section is by Romulo O'Farrill, an outstanding Mexican newspaper publisher whose family also owns broadcasting and magazine enterprises. He reviews the history of early Mexican newspapers and comments on the current status of the Mexican mass media. The presentation by Mr. O'Farrill was the keynote of the opening session of the seminar.

Next come the written paper and the oral presentations given in the panel discussion titled "The Mexican Press: Ownership and Control," moderated by Dr. L. Laurence Day. Dr. Richard R. Cole of the University of North Carolina made the opening presentation in the panel, in which he detailed numerous aspects of growth, control and ownership of the Mexican press. Panelists Dr. Bruce Underwood, now at Pan American University in Edinburg, Tex., Mr. James H. Budd, editor of Expansión, Mr. Alejandro Junco de la Vega, managing editor of El Norte and El Sol in Monterrey, and Mr. O'Farrill responded in oral presentations. A summary of the fairly lengthy question-and-answer session which followed is included.

Also included in this section is a paper written by Prof. Harold A. Fisher of Bowling Green State University which was presented in a later session of the seminar. Dr. Fisher discusses basics of U.S. and Mexican broadcasting controls.

Dr. Day, who moderated the session on Mexican press ownership and control, is an associate professor of journalism at the University of Kansas. He has taught and conducted research in several Latin American nations and was a foreign correspondent in Argentina and a missionary in Uruguay. In 1974-75, he held a Fulbright professorship in Argentina and visited several other Latin American nations also. His Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Minnesota concerned professionalization of Latin American journalists. He holds B.A. and M.A. degrees from Brigham Young University.

The Mexican Press

By Romulo O'Farrill

Biographical note: Mr. O'Farrill is vice-president and editor-in-chief of Publications Herrerías, S.A., the publishing house which owns three Mexico City newspapers--Novedades, The News and Diario de la Tarde--and several newspapers outside the Federal District including Novedades de Puebla, Novedades de Acapulco and Novedades de Yucatán. In addition, he is chairman of the board of Televisa, which operates 82 television stations throughout Mexico. The O'Farrill family owns extensive media holdings in Mexico. Mr. O'Farrill was president of the Inter American Press Association in 1962-63, and he holds numerous civic and other awards given in Mexico and by other nations.

I would first like to express my appreciation for having the opportunity to address such a distinguished group of scholars of the journalistic profession. Although I am sure that many other Mexican journalists are more capable and could have done a better job than the one I am undertaking, I am indeed proud to have this opportunity.

As you know, the first printing press in the Americas was operated in Mexico City in 1539, but for almost 200 years the newspaper as such did not appear; there were dozens of handbills of an informative nature which constituted the real beginnings of journalism in this country, but they did not appear periodically. The first newspaper in Mexico, published in 1722, was the Gazette of Mexico and the News of New Spain (La Gaceta de México y las Noticias de la Nueva España). And this was only 18 years after the appearance of the first newspaper in the United States, The Boston News-letter. Thus the founder of the Gazette, Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursua, is justifiably regarded as the first newspaper publisher in Latin America.

From the first issue of the Gazette, we are aware of its journalistic spirit. Evident is the desire to report current events as quickly as possible, to the greatest possible number of persons. It is true that the news value of the information provided, judged by modern standards, would be debatable, but we must understand that the concepts of the new and of the old were quite different in those days. It is also true that Castorena avoided making any commentary, especially of a political nature, but we must also remember that journalism at that time was a bureaucratic practice such as that of the scribe, priest or soldier, subjected to rigid forms of thought and action prescribed by society, the church and the absolutism of the king.

Where did Castorena obtain the information he published in the Gazette? With great ingenuity, he organized a network of correspondents in the various viceregal regions, selecting outstanding persons among the ecclesiastic, civil and military authorities. He compiled, classified and edited the news, much of which was taken from gazettes recently arrived from Spain and other areas of the kingdom, from communications and correspondence of officials, and from the reports of travelers arriving at our ports.

There was also a second newspaper titled The Gazette of Mexico and News of New Spain, founded in 1728, by the priest Francisco Javier Sahagun de Arevalo. In 1742, publication was suspended for two years because of a paper shortage, a circumstance which may provide us some consolation during the world crisis caused by the shortage of paper today.

A third and final publication with the same name as the others appeared in 1748, founded by the printer Manuel Antonio Valdez. This periodical continued to be published until 1809. The following year it became an official organ, under the name of The Gazette of the Mexican Government. It ceased to exist along with the viceregal epoch in September of 1821, when Mexico's independence from Spain was consummated.

Light is also shed on this colonial epoch of journalism by the first daily in the country, El Diario de Mexico, founded in 1805 by the journalist Carlos María de Bustamante in Mexico City. It brings to our professional history the beginning of advertising, which was considered a public service and published free. It also laid the groundwork for today's cultural and scientific sections, since special pages and supplements were dedicated to these themes. The Diario took up political topics prohibited previously, along with dissemination of literary writings under the heading of "Articles of Various Types." Through his daily newspaper, Bustamante not only developed a generation of political commentators, poets, narrators, historians and scientists, but he also liberated a group of thinking persons from the bonds of the dreaded Inquisition and the viceregal government.

There are no doubts about the communication established by the Diario with its readers. At the 12 stands where the daily was sold at 3 centavos a copy, there were locked boxes where people could leave news items or articles they wished to have published. This custom persists today in the form of announcements or news items sent in by readers which we publish without charge.

On the other hand, we may well have doubts about the efficiency of the machinery used to print the Diario. The largest press run was 1,000, but by 1814 it barely reached 200.

Leaving Diario, the first daily in the country and the first to comment on current events, we go to the first unorthodox newspaper, the standard bearer of those who dissented, the organ of those who bore arms to demand the independence of Mexico.

We are dealing now with El Despertador Americano (The American Awakener), which saw the light in the city of Guadalajara in December of 1810, three months after the declaration of independence by Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. Only seven issues of this publication appeared, published by the doctor in

theology and parish priest of the community of Mascota, Francisco Severo Maldonado, who personally had asked Hidalgo's authorization for publication of a newspaper to disseminate ideals of the insurgents. This weekly was printed in the shop owned by Mariano Valdez Tellez Giron, a veteran in graphic arts, who had the best printing plant of that time. For that reason, the Despertador could be printed with movable steel type, made up in 12 pages, and reaching a press run of 2,000 copies.

A publication with the same background as El Despertador was the Ilustrador Nacional (National Enlightener), printed on wrapping paper with indigo ink and using movable wooden type, in Sultepec, state of Mexico, in April 1812. The editor and publisher was a priest, Jose Maria Cos.

Both Maldonado and Cos were outlawed by the viceregal authorities and their church superiors. Maldonado backed down from his original position, but Cos, in order to escape persecution, suspended the Ilustrador Nacional and replaced it with a new publication, El Ilustrador Americano, printed on a press taken secretly from Mexico City to Sultepec. Soon the new periodical drew the enmity of the Spaniards, who persecuted not only Cos but also those who wrote for the paper and even its readers. The administrator of Valladolid (now Morelia), among others, issued a threat of death against those who read it.

Also in the album of unorthodox Mexicans, we must recall Jose Joaquin Fernandez de Lizardi. Upon the proclamation of freedom of the press by the Spanish Parliament in 1812, he founded in Mexico City his newspaper, El Pensador Mexicano (The Mexican Thinker). Thirteen numbers appeared, the ninth carrying a bitter censure of Viceroy Venegas. The publisher thought the absolutist government would respect press freedom. The price he paid for his insistence was a six-month prison sentence, although he continued to publish his paper.

With the beginning of Mexico as an independent nation, an important period in journalism history begins. I regard it as the ideological consolidation of a press which defines and clarifies its vocation as defender of freedom. The consolidation was achieved in the course of almost 70 years, pitting two ideological currents against each other, the names changing until the confrontation appears as that of Liberals and Conservatives.

As for the libertarian role of the press, the process of definition is painful, a constant facing up to strong-arm governments, against dictators who through unjust laws or by force try to silence those whose opinions differ from theirs. Our journalistic ancestors accepted the challenge, and from hiding or from exile they continued the unequal struggle. Several journalists stood out for their ideas and their pens, for their role on the rostrum or the battlefields. Among them are such illustrious journalists as Francisco Zarco, Guillermo Prieto, Pantaleon Tovar and the Riva Palacios.

The so-called first Mexican empire had only to recognize the press freedom established 10 years before by the members of the Spanish Parliament. Nevertheless, Emperor Iturbide compelled all periodicals to send copies to the political heads, the military chiefs and to a committee of

judges of publications in each local government. Carlos María de Bustamante, who edited in Mexico City a periodical called La Avispa de Chilpancingo (The Chilpancingo Wasp), was declared guilty of sedition and was imprisoned for having dared to impugn the form of government.

The periodicals El Sol (The Sun) and El Hombre Libre (The Free Man), both opposed to Iturbide, were forced to close, and Jose Joaquín Fernandez de Lizardi was excommunicated and declared an outlaw for having brought forth a journalistic series titled "Dreams of the Thinker," in which he passed judgment on imperial policies and predicted an end of the empire.

The ideological and political conflict stimulated the appearance of new dailies. By 1823, according to Lorenzo de Zavala, "there are in Mexico three daily papers, whereas two years before only two were able to survive and appearing two or three times a week. In addition, there are public prints or periodicals in Yucatan, Oaxaca, Veracruz, Valladolid (Morelia), Puebla, Guadalajara and Durango...."

There was an ideological cast to the press of those days: the position of anticlericalism and the opposing side, defense of religion. Fernandez de Lizardi emerges as the initiator of the anticlerical current with his historical "Dialogues between a Boor and a Sexton," in which he pleads for press freedom, religious tolerance and state regulation of public church ceremonies. In the last periodical he edited, El Correo Semanario de Mexico (The Weekly Post of Mexico), he insisted on these ideas. Some of his followers asked for expropriation of church properties and the suppression of religious orders.

President Guerrero, who led the consummation of our independence, came to power with the downfall of Emperor Iturbide. In 1829 he issued a decree restricting the press and declaring the responsibility of authors, publishers and printers of any papers directly or indirectly supporting any attempt to invade the Republic, or who backed any change in the federal system or who slanderously attacked the state or federal powers. After Guerrero was executed, his successor, President Bustamante, increased persecution of dissident journalists, and in May of 1830 he decreed the government's right to impose arbitrary fines on printers of periodicals or booklets. Thus Jose Maria Ontiveros, owner of the shop printing the periodical El Atleta (The Athlete), an antimilitarist paper, was subjected to various administrative fines; when these totaled 10,000 pesos, his shop was confiscated.

Sen. Crescencio Rajon, publisher of La Tribuna del Pueblo (The People's Tribune), was attacked in the street by a gang of paid ruffians. In Guadalajara, the military commander Inclan condemned publisher Brambila to death because he refused to reveal the identity of the author of an article in which the military man was attacked. In May 1832, the government directly closed down the periodical El Duende (The Elf), published by Pablo Villavicencio, an action which we shall see repeated on the tragic face of our history.

After Bustamante as president came Gen. Antonio López de Santa Anna, who intensified attacks against his opponents in a clear bid to make himself dictator. The legal formula he used to control the free press was

the establishment of publisher's responsibility, and demanding bonds of up to 10,000 pesos from printers to guarantee any fines imposed on publications printed on their presses. In this suffocating environment, there appears one of the outstanding periodicals of our history, El Siglo XIX (The 19th Century), started in 1841 as an afternoon daily. Its greatest merit was being the first to devote its columns to all matters that interest the reader--politics, literature, commerce, sociology, religion, bringing together the most prominent liberal intellectuals of the century.

The conservatives, meanwhile, published the daily El Tiempo (The Times), which also attained a large circulation. A few months later came El Monitor Republicano, of liberal tendency, and the conservative El Universal, the two papers engaging in prolonged and interesting polemics.

Thus we come to one of the most unfortunate periods in the life of Mexico, the War of Texas and the United States invasion, at the end of which and as a sad epilogue, Mexico loses more than half its territory and must endure the presence of a foreign military force. This was the preamble to the civic feast, the Constitutional Congress of 1857, during which the liberal tendency triumphed and instituted constitutional recognition of the right to think, express and write with full freedom, with no limitations other than that of propriety, morality and respect for others.

With the triumph of the Liberals after the battle of Calpulalpan, there are only isolated cases of reprisals against Conservative periodicals or journalists. But a new foreign intervention was already being prepared, this time by Napoleonic troops who, with trivial pretexts, would impose by force of arms the second and fleeting empire, that of Maximilian. Opponents of such a regime found a new weapon to use against the enemy: humor. Thus was born the periodical La Orquesta (The Orchestra), one of whose editors, Constantino Escalante, is the pioneer of political caricature in Mexican journalism. Later Escalante was imprisoned in a cage and exposed to public mockery because of his opinions adverse to the Emperor.

Soon after arriving in Mexico, Maximilian issued a Printing Law which turned out to be quite advanced: all had a right to print and circulate without prior censorship. In practice, however, the imperialist military nullified the law.

At the end of the second empire, with the execution of Maximilian and the return of President Benito Juarez, the press flourished again, especially periodicals devoted to literature. Contrary to what might have been expected, there is no evidence of any reprisal against the press that served the empire. This flowering continued under his successor, President Lerdo, during whose term a hundred new periodicals appeared.

Thus we come to what I consider the third stage in the history of Mexican journalism, which begins with the government of Gen. Porfirio Diaz, who was in power for more than 30 years, until the 1910 revolution. This period was characterized by the conversion of hand-printed, doctrinaire and combative journalism to informative journalism with advanced techniques, and with the goal of creating a genuine public opinion. During the first part of this period, from 1882 until approximately 1915, the press suffered the vicissitudes which weighed down the country. Porfirio Diaz was called the

leader of peace, but this was an imposed peace, like that of the grave, where no dissent was permitted and where moving out of established channels was prohibited.

The Diaz government had a two-edged attitude toward the press. First, it sought to curtail the free and opposition press through a press subsidized by the state. Cleverly the government increased economic aid to pro-government papers and bestowed jobs and sinecures on writers favorable to the government. On the other hand, there was an official blockade against dissident newspapers.

The second aspect, which led to the fiercest persecution the press has suffered in Mexico, began in 1883 with an amendment to the Constitution which, keeping intact the rights to write and publish on any subject, left journalists without any defense in the courts, for it suppressed juries in press offenses and left to whims of judges the procedures for punishment. In addition to fines and prison sentences against responsible journalists, there were penalties of confiscating print shops and tools and equipment, which were considered instruments in committing crimes.

El Hijo del Ahuizote (an Aztec word implying a thorn in the side) was one of the most militant periodicals, founded in 1885 and persecuted and closed down some years later. It gives us an accurate description of the press in 1888: "The government has 30 subsidized periodicals in the capital, requiring about forty thousand pesos a month to support them. There are 27 official periodicals in the states and nearly all the provincial press is controlled. It costs the Mexican State one million pesos to maintain this propaganda apparatus. More or less what it costs to maintain the legislative branch."

Historians cite the newspaper El Nacional as the first to modify, in 1885, its internal structure and become the forerunner of the modern press in Mexico. Toward the end of 1886, El Imparcial, edited by Rafael Reyes Espindola, appeared; it was the first newspaper to bring a linotype to Mexico along with printing machinery fed by newsprint in rolls. Thanks to this equipment, it was able to increase its press run considerably, reduce production costs and lower its price to the public to 1 centavo a copy. This example was followed within a few months by the Catholic papers El Pais and El Tiempo. Soon El Imparcial had a press run of 75,000 copies a day, while El Tiempo's run toward the end of 1910 rose to 200,000.

In 1900, meanwhile, government attacks on the free press were redoubled. For the first time, copies of opposition papers were confiscated on street stands. Some journalists were condemned by judges to stop practicing their profession; others were exiled, sent to prison or forced to emigrate. Many publishers resisted the restrictions and continued to write in secret or in U.S. border cities, but by 1910, when the revolutionary movement broke out, the press was almost wholly controlled by the government.

With the triumph of the revolution, in 1912, came a revival of hundreds of publications which had been persecuted by Diaz. They enjoyed freedom until Gen. Victoriano Huerta seized power following the assassination of President Madero. Huerta was hostile to all who disagreed with him. That situation prevailed until 1915, when the constitutionalists were victorious. In 1916

they called the constitutional congress to meet the following year in Quere-
taro. In October 1916, El Universal appeared, a morning paper which still
is published, and which was one of the first to offer readers timely and
complete foreign news by cable. In 1917 Excelsior began publication, the
first daily to install a rotogravure plant and to use Ludlow headline machines.
In 1929 the afternoon tabloid El Universal Gráfico was founded, a year after
the appearance of another tabloid, the mass-oriented La Prensa. Both are
still published. As an official organ of the National Revolutionary Party,
the daily El Nacional appeared in 1929. In 1935 Ignacio Herreras established
the afternoon daily PM, which on Sept. 14, 1939, was converted into a morning
paper under the new name, Novedades, the daily which I have the honor of
publishing.

We have taken a rapid glance at the three stages into which we can
divide the history of Mexican journalism. I have tried to underscore the
dates, action, publications and names of journalists who decisively influenced
the improvement of the press and the defense of freedom, the most precious of
all gifts for a newspaperman.

Technically, Mexican publications are among the best in the hemisphere.
There are about 200 dailies in Mexico. Twenty-three, informative and commer-
cial, are published in Mexico City. The total daily press run nationally
exceeds 2½ million copies. Almost 40 percent of the papers have been modern-
ized or are in the process of modernization. It is estimated that at least
one of every six Mexicans reads a newspaper every day. Concretely, with
reference to the publishing firm which I direct, we have three dailies in
Mexico City and four in other cities, with a combined daily circulation of
more than 300,000. Four are being printed entirely by offset, two on letter-
press and nylonprint, and our biggest newspaper, Novedades, is using all
three systems--that is, letterpress in metal, letterpress in nylonprint and
offset. The reason is that we are in a transition from metal to photocompo-
sition. It's also important to mention that in the three systems we do half-
tone color.

The problems faced by the Mexican press derive mainly from high produc-
tion costs stemming from the rising prices of printing machinery, the cost
of paper, of which 250,000 long tons are consumed annually, the cost of
inks, replacement parts and other materials. In the past year, we suffered
a 30 percent reduction in the newsprint supply due to the world crisis, and an
increase of 60 percent in price. These difficulties are reflected in the
reduction of the number of pages as well as in condensation of news stories.
I can assure you that in the technical field our press has replied to the
challenge of modernization by meeting needs of the readers, who are more
demanding every day because they are stimulated by other media.

I have left until last my evaluation of the contemporary Mexican press
with respect to freedom of expression. We have seen in the historical sketch
how arduous and sustained has been the struggle of Mexican journalists to
achieve, maintain, defend and conserve the right to print and circulate the
truth. The press today is aware and proud of this heritage, which has been
growing during more than 250 years of professional practice, even against
the most formidable odds.

There is no legal rule of freedom guaranteed by the General Constitution of the Republic, as well as the respectful attitude of the authorities. Each year, since 1950, on June 7 editors and publishers throughout the country organize a dinner in honor of the President of the Republic, an event attended by his entire cabinet. It is an express recognition that the sacred principle of freedom has not been polluted. As far as I can ascertain, there is not a similar event in any other country in the world, and following the Mexican initiative, in 1953 during its ninth assembly, the Inter American Press Association--which has fought and continues to fight such great battles for freedom--consecrated that date as the Hemispheric Day of Freedom of the Press.

At the June 7, 1962, dinner, President Adolfo Lopez Mateos said: "It gives me great pleasure to reiterate that the administration which I head has never ordered, nor will it ever order, any measure that limits, conditions and even less, impedes freedom of the press."

And the president today, Luis Echeverria Alvarez, in a memorial service for reporters and photographers who perished in an airplane crash, stated: "It would be sterile to teach our children to read and write if at the same time we denied them the right to think, to express opinions and to discuss. I declare here, at the monument sacred to the memory of those men who died in the line of duty, that the freedoms and the rights won by Mexicans in the course of the nation's independent life are untouchable. We can enlarge them in a natural way, through the very evolution of social life, but under no circumstances restrict them arbitrarily." Both quotes summarize appropriately the thinking of contemporary Mexican chiefs of state on press freedom.

Chosen by the Mexican press to reply to presidential messages at such dinners, I said in 1963: "The authorities' respect for the free practice of our journalistic profession creates very clear responsibilities for us. In the first place, we have the obligation to inform our readers truthfully, objectively and opportunely. The press should publish everything which is news, taking care that the story as well as the headline reflect the contents with absolute clarity and impartiality. It is logical and natural that some news stories or commentaries are not always, nor necessarily, agreeable to certain authorities or for certain sectors of the country, but we must publish them if we are to comply with our mission of keeping the Mexican people duly informed. The emphasis grows constantly on the importance of not only publishing the news as such but of also providing an interpretation so that our readers can better understand its importance and its possible repercussions."

Again, in 1971, following up this idea, at another of the annual dinners, I said: "It is necessary that for no reason whatever should we engage in yellow journalism or sensationalism, since in doing so we would distort the information and misguide our readers. A newspaper always has the absolute right, as part of its professional task, of giving its own opinion and guidelines to readers, which is done through editorials that constitute the expression of its thinking. Within them, all that is positive will be supported and all that deserves censure will be criticized constructively and in good faith. You (here I addressed President Echeverria) on various occasions have stated that criticism is necessary, useful for the government, which, in addition, should subject itself permanently to strict self-criticism."

Self-criticism, we say, which should also be practiced, toward the end of improving themselves, by the newspapers of the country." I also spoke along these lines as president of the Inter American Press Association, when we had President Kennedy as our guest of honor at our 19th General Assembly in Miami on Nov. 18, 1963, only four days before his brutal assassination.

In conclusion, I would like to make an observation with regard to the Freedom of the Press Dinner. Should the day ever come when the State strikes at the freedom of expressing ourselves--that is, freedom of opinion and even of dissent--the dinner would no longer take place. Instead of being a festive day, it would become a day of mourning, as unfortunately is the case in many sister nations. Fortunately, there are no indications that this could happen. I am convinced that it is the people's and the Mexican government's wish to maintain this atmosphere of freedom within our democratic political system.

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The Mexican Press System:

Selected Aspects of Growth, Control and Ownership

By Richard R. Cole

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Mexico is a land of opposites: old and new, lush and barren, rich and poor. Just as the nation reflects great diversity, so does its mass media system. This paper is limited to only the press portion of that varied Mexican media system, and it considers the press according to only three factors: growth, control and ownership. Each of those factors, however, could be the subject of books. This single paper merely attempts to outline some aspects of growth, control and ownership, almost wholly for daily newspapers.

Data are drawn from personal interviews with influential media owners, professional journalists, professors and government officials conducted in 1970 and 1972, and from a number of documentary sources over a period of years through March 1974. A major documentary source is Medios Publicitarios Mexicanos, Mexico's standard rate and data guide now published four times a year.

Growth of the Mexican Press

Mexico had the first printing press in the Western Hemisphere, but journalism in Mexico developed rather slowly because three centuries of Spanish rule stifled press freedom and another century of domestic strife impeded progress. Mexican journalism evolved from a religious and literary press under the Spanish to a political press in the 19th century and now stands as an information press.¹

Today most Mexican newspapers are relatively young, primarily because of the Revolution of 1910. During the Revolution, most newspapers that were established previously closed. Virtually no newspaper published before 1900 now exists,² and many of those established since the Revolution failed during

the Depression. Most newspapers were established since World War II. Indeed, the one word characterizing the Mexican mass media since 1945 has been growth,³ and the media have grown most noticeably since 1960.

Table 1 shows media growth for Mexico since World War II. The table shows that Mexico had achieved the minimum standards set by Unesco for developing nations--10 copies of daily newspapers, 5 radio receivers and 2 TV receivers per 100 inhabitants⁴--by 1965. In that year, both newspapers and TV receivers per 100 population exceeded the standards; the standard for radio was achieved at least by 1950, when there were 7.3 sets per 100 population.

Table 2 shows media growth during the 1960s and early 1970s for each Mexican state, grouped by geographic area. The central area--composed of the Distrito Federal and 10 states, which together had approximately half the population in the 1970 census--accounted for 29% of the nation's newspapers, 31% of the AM and FM radio stations and 27% of the TV stations in 1973. The nation's largest and most important media are concentrated in the Distrito Federal, which in 1970 had a population of more than 7 million, or approximately 15% of the national total. In 1973, the Distrito Federal accounted for 11% of the nation's commercial daily newspapers, 8% of the commercial radio stations and 5% of the commercial TV stations (including the headquarters of the dominant national networks). Mexico City is the seat of the nation's film, magazine and book industries also.

Some Controls in the Mexican Press System

Only some of the most important controls in the Mexican media system are listed here, and "controls" is not limited to such negative restrictions as censorship but is defined more broadly as influences affecting media operation. Specific broadcast controls are not listed. All the controls mentioned are grouped into three general levels of influence surrounding the media:

1. Societal controls. The broadest controls on any media system are those of the society in which the media system operates. Societal controls are the farthest removed from the media in immediacy, defined in terms of influence on day-to-day decisionmaking in a mass medium. Societal controls are the most deep-seated and slowest-changing: language, religion and morals, literacy, population, education, economic and political development and other broad variables. These broad controls are merely mentioned in order to devote more space to specific governmental and institutional controls.

2. Governmental controls. Basically, Mexican law provides for a free press but subtle and overt governmental controls have sometimes restricted freedom substantially. The ruling law is the Constitution of 1917, an outgrowth of the Revolution of 1910, which includes limits on the power of the Catholic Church, national control of subsoil minerals and a worker's "bill of rights." Articles 6 and 7 proclaim freedom of the press, the first article providing that free expression of ideas is limited only in the case of moral attack, the rights of third parties and provocations of crime and disturbing the public order. Article 7 states that the liberty to write

TABLE 1

GROWTH OF THE MEXICAN MASS MEDIA SINCE WORLD WAR II

Year	No. of Daily Papers	No. of Copies per 1,000 Population	No. of Commercial AM radio Stations	No. of Radio Sets per 1,000 Population	No. of Commercial TV Stations	No. of TV Sets per 1,000 Population	Newsprint Consumption (1,000 metric tons)	Newsprint Consumption per Capita
1945	98b (1948)	46b (1948)	186b (1946)	—	0	0	53.2b (1946-50)	2.2b (1946-50)
1950	162b (1952)	48b (1952)	212b (1949)	73c	6b (1953)	2c (1953)	39.9b	1.6b
1955	—	—	227b (1953)	87c	12b	4c	60.0b	2.0b
1960	175a	79c	335a	95c	13a	19c	99.6b	2.8b
1965	168a	116b	433a	201a	27a	29c	163.4c (1967)	3.6b (1967)
1970	202a	—	505a	239c (1967)	52a	40c (1967)	146.9c (1968)	3.1b (1968)
1973/ 1974	210a	—	550a	276b (1970)	104a	59b (1970)	158.8c (1970)	3.1c (1970)

Sources: a Medios Publicitarios Mexicanos directorios.b United Nations Statistical Yearbooks.c Unesco Statistical Yearbooks.

TABLE 2
GROWTH OF MEXICAN NEWSPAPERS, RADIO AND TELEVISION DURING THE 1960s AND EARLY 1970s
BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA

Geographic Area /and State	Newspapers				Radio (AM & FM)				Television			
	1960	1965	1970	1973	1960	1965	1970	1973	1960	1965	1970	1973
North Pacific												
Baja California North	11	5	5	4	23	26	29	31	2	3	4	4
Baja California South	2	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	0	0	1	1
Navarrit	4	4	3	4	5	7	8	11	0	0	0	3
Sinaloa	9	7	12	13	17	29	23	25	0	1	5	7
Sonora	19	12	12	11	28	33	37	41	1	3	6	7
Total	45	29	34	34	74	88	100	111	3	7	16	22
North												
Coahuila	8	11	13	17	22	28	36	42	1	1	3	8
Chihuahua	11	10	12	9	25	33	37	42	2	3	4	8
Durango	3	3	3	4	6	6	6	6	0	0	1	1
Nuevo León	5	4	6	6	13	15	24	30	1	3	4	4
San Luis Potosí	3	2	3	3	9	9	11	17	0	0	0	0
Tamaulipas	18	20	22	21	30	35	39	43	2	2	3	8
Zacatecas	3	4	3	3	4	5	6	6	0	0	0	3
Total	51	54	62	63	109	131	159	186	6	9	15	32

TABLE 2 (CONTINUED)

Geographic Area / and State	Newspapers				Radio (AM & FM)				Television			
	1960	1965	1970	1973	1960	1965	1970	1973	1960	1965	1970	1973
Central												
Aguascalientes	2	3	2	2	3	3	4	4	0	0	0	2
Distrito Federal	20	16	19	22	28	35	42	48	3	3	5	5
Guajuato	5	8	8	9	10	17	24	31	0	0	1	3
Hidalgo	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	5	0	0	0	0
Jalisco	3	3	4	4	21	30	43	46	1	2	2	5
México	4	3	4	4	1	2	3	7	0	0	0	6
Michoacán	5	6	7	11	18	21	27	28	0	1	1	3
Morelos	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	8	0	0	0	0
Puebla	5	4	7	4	8	12	12	16	0	0	1	1
Querétaro	1	1	1	2	2	4	5	5	0	0	1	3
Tlaxcala	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total	48	47	55	61	96	131	169	199	4	6	11	28
Gulf of Mexico												
Campeche	1	0	0	1	3	4	5	7	0	0	1	0
Quintana Roo (territory)	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	1
Tabasco	3	2	3	2	4	6	9	11	0	0	1	1
Veracruz	12	13	18	21	31	36	46	57	0	3	2	8
Yucatán	2	3	5	3	6	8	9	11	0	1	3	3
Total	17	18	26	27	44	55	71	88	0	4	7	13

TABLE 2 (CONTINUED)

<u>Geographic Area / and State</u>	<u>Newspapers</u>				<u>Radio (AM & FM)</u>				<u>Television</u>			
	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1973</u>
<u>South Pacific</u>												
Colima	1	2	3	3	3	5	5	6	0	1	1	1
Chiapas	5	9	10	8	4	10	14	15	0	0	2	2
Guerrero	5	7	9	10	7	11	17	19	0	0	0	5
Oaxaca	3	3	3	4	3	8	12	13	0	0	0	1
Total	14	20	25	25	17	34	48	53	0	1	3	9
<u>Grand Total</u>	175	168	202	210	340	439	547	637	13	27	52	103

Source: 1960, 1965, 1970, 1973-74 Medios Publicitarios Mexicanos.

and publish on all subjects is inviolate; it forbids prior censorship and provides that press freedom has no limitation except respect for private life, morality and the public peace. A 1917 press law, however, prohibited "malicious expressions calculated to excite hatred of the authorities, the army, the national guard, or the fundamental institutions of the country."⁵ Another law--Article 145 of the Penal Code, reformed in 1951--provided two- to 12-year prison terms and 1,000- to 10,000-peso fines for crimes of "social dissolution": speaking, writing or using any medium to disturb the public order. Disturbing the public order was defined as producing rebellion, sedition or revolt.⁶ This latter law was repealed in 1970. These laws are mentioned as examples to show that while press freedom is proclaimed within general limits in the constitution, specific laws can and have restricted that freedom. In reality, the amount of press freedom in the 20th century has depended as much on the president in power as on the constitution or any other document. While all presidents have given at least lip service to freedom of the press, some have been more liberal than others in allowing freedom.

Another formal governmental control is Productora e Importadora de Papel, S.A. de C.V. (Producer and Importer of Paper, Inc.), better known as Pipsa. Pipsa has been criticized by international journalistic organizations and press associations as a serious governmental control, yet it has been praised by Mexican publishers as a vital factor in economic success. Control of Pipsa has been vested in both the government (51%) and private interests; publishers of leading newspapers have served on Pipsa's board of directors. Not only is Pipsa the sole agency authorized by the government to import newsprint in Mexico, but it also grades, stores and distributes it. Nearly all Mexican newspapers and magazines are Pipsa clients.

Pipsa, established in 1935, purchases newsprint in large quantities and is able to offer it to periodicals at wholesale prices, free from import duties. Because Pipsa is a government monopoly and buys in volume, it not only obtains discounts but also provides periodicals with adequate supplies during periods of stress. That was true in World War II, for example, when Pipsa secured newsprint under difficult conditions. If Pipsa were abolished and replaced by no alternative collective-purchasing system, newsprint prices might skyrocket. That occurred in Brazil when preferential rates for imported newsprint were discontinued during 1960-61; prices rose by 200%.⁷ In Argentina, when favorable rates for imported newsprint were eliminated in 1959, paper costs soon quadrupled.⁸ During its almost 40 years of operation, Pipsa has become an efficient and effective government monopoly that assures client newspapers and other periodicals of a supply of relatively inexpensive newsprint.

The dangers in such a government monopoly, however, are obvious. Pipsa has been charged with assuring support for the government by threatening to withhold newsprint from antigovernment periodicals. In the mid-1960s, the leftist magazine Política accused the agency of exerting pressure, but Agustín Arroyo Ch., who was then Pipsa director general, reported that newsprint was sold to Política as long as the magazine could pay for it.⁹ Pipsa officials assert that the agency is obliged to sell paper to all companies producing newspapers, magazines and books with only the following major limitations: 1) unless Pipsa is absolutely unable to obtain paper for verifiable reasons, 2) that the editors of the companies soliciting the paper

duly observe the law, and 3) that the paper is used only for the purpose for which it is solicited.

Scholars and other writers have asserted that Pipsa has not abused its power.¹⁰ In 1965, when Pipsa's original 30-year charter expired, a number of Mexican publishers presented a petition to President Díaz Ordaz asking him to extend Pipsa for another 30 years. The petition, signed by most Mexico City publishers and several others outside the capital, declared that Pipsa never had been used to limit press freedom. Pipsa was renewed for another 30 years on Jan. 1, 1966. Two important reasons why the publishers asked for Pipsa to continue were that 1) rates of privately imported newsprint would have crippled some of them and 2) many newspapers owed Pipsa large sums in back payments.

Although Pipsa's overall effect is difficult to assess precisely because the government hesitates to reveal its full operation and relations with individual publications, it may be concluded safely that Pipsa has helped marginally successful newspapers which have been heavily dependent on its newsprint to survive. Without exception, every publisher--whether leftist, rightist or centrist--and every other influential media owner, journalism professor and government official this writer interviewed in Mexico in 1970 and 1972 stated that the object of Pipsa is not to influence the press but to help it. Conversely, Pipsa could be used as a tool through which the government could at least influence the press; that danger is always present.

The Mexican government exerts various informal controls over the press. One is the concept of desacato. Laws against desacato (disrespect) exist to a degree throughout countries in Latin America and Southern Europe. In Mexico, serious press criticism of the national president is rare.

Another control is government payment for news stories, pictures and advertising. In 1964 it was estimated that government advertising accounted for 20% to 30% of the total advertising income in the average daily newspaper, often meaning the difference between life and death in a touch-and-go operation.¹¹ Today government advertising is still extremely important. Among the government agencies which are influential advertisers are Aero México (airline), Lotería Nacional (National Lottery) and Nacional Financiera, S.A. (a chief investment-development agency of the federal government), to name only three. The government also has lent money to newspapers through Nacional Financiera and other agencies. In the 1960s it was reported that much of the capital for the huge García Valseca newspaper chain, the nation's largest, came from Nacional Financiera; that organization also owned, for example, 20% of the stock in El Universal, a leading Mexico City newspaper, in 1970.¹²

Other government controls include domination of labor unions and news management and suppression. The Mexican government, like all governments, attempts to manage the news, to put its best foot forward. Even in fairly recent years, instances of violent suppression of the news media by governments have occurred in the provinces, but violence on the federal level would provoke indignant responses from the media.

3. Institutional controls. Institutional controls arise from the nature of the media themselves; all internal to the media, they are the closest to the media in terms of immediacy. These institutional controls revolve around the concept of journalistic professionalization. In recent years, the following criticisms typify those made of Mexican journalism and its level of professionalization:

- Despite outstanding exceptions, the quality of much news reporting is poor.
- News space may be bought in most newspapers.
- Most journalists are poorly trained.
- Much of the press is political, lacking in objectivity.
- Journalists are paid so poorly that many must work at more than one job.
- Reporters and editors often receive payoffs from news sources.

Advertisers can purchase news space in most newspapers in the form of gacetillas (paid publicity). Gacetillas are either composed and brought to newspaper offices by persons who wish to have them printed, or they are written or rewritten in news form by reporters. Since they are not labeled as advertising when printed, they are indistinguishable from news. Even prestigious newspapers publish their gacetilla rates in Medios Publicitarios Mexicanos, Mexico's standard rate and data guide. In 1973 Novedades advertised a rate of approximately 11 pesos (\$.88 U.S.) an agate line; 1973 prices in Excelsior depended on location in the paper; a common price was 26 pesos (\$ 2.08 U.S.) a line. In 1972, when a Mexican editor criticized the practice of selling news space, he declared that the second headline at the top of the front page of Excelsior could sell for \$8,000.¹³

Gacetillas, however, have been ingrained in the Mexican system for many years, and lest U.S. journalists be so moralistic, it should be remembered that until 1912 a practice similar to gacetillas was not uncommon in the United States. Even now, when U.S. law requires that all paid-for content must be labeled as such, some newspapers often charge for printing such items as wedding pictures.

The iguala is another typically cited shortcoming of the Mexican press system. Igualas, payoffs from news sources, often come in the form of a monthly stipend to the beat reporter for his coverage, or sometimes to the page editor for assuring that a story is run. Businesses sometimes pay igualas as "public relations" fees, and the government participates in the system, one duty of government press officers being to distribute the payoffs. In 1969 a not uncommon payoff to a reporter was 750 pesos (\$60 U.S.) a month; in addition, some government agencies have paid a bonus of 1,000 pesos (\$80 U.S.) to a reporter whose front-page story carried the name of the agency director.¹⁴

According to U.S. journalistic ethics, the iguala is abhorrent, but it is a mistake to expect journalistic standards in other countries to conform

to those in the United States. In much of the Latin culture, payoffs are common throughout the system as an accepted, and often expected, fact of life. In Mexico such a payoff, termed the mordida (literally, the bite) is not rare in dealings with many levels of bureaucracy and officialdom, including customs officials, policemen and utility company personnel. In addition, the iguala bolsters the journalist's rather low income. As late as 1970, some experienced Mexican journalists earned no more than \$4 U.S. daily. Because of their low salaries, Mexican journalists, like those in many Latin American nations, often must work at more than one job to maintain themselves and their families. In Latin America, members of various occupations, including university professors, sometimes hold more than one job, but the problem is compounded for journalists because the journalistic position may subject the journalist to conflicts of interest from the other job. A newspaper reporter who also works for a public relations firm, for example, may be open to PR payoffs for writing "news" stories.¹⁵

The controls mentioned in the previous few paragraphs apply to reporters and editors, who exercise primacy in day-to-day decisionmaking in media content. Controls by employees are the most immediate media controls. Ultimate control at the institutional level, however, rests with the media owners. Figure 1 groups the controls discussed in this section into a pyramid of external and internal controls, according to the level of immediacy.

Aspects of Mexican Newspaper Ownership

A 1970 study of newspaper ownership concentration in 32 nations concluded that developing nations had more concentration than developed nations; the study showed that of the 15 developing nations considered, Mexico had less ownership concentration than all the others except Pakistan.¹⁶ In Mexico, however, several influential owners control a large proportion of the media. A few of those owners and their holdings are listed after more general information on newspaper ownership is presented.

Table 3 compares chain and nonchain daily newspapers by geographic area in 1970. The South Pacific area had the least chain ownership (8%), followed in increasing order by the Gulf of Mexico area (15.4%), the North Pacific area (23.5%), the North (45.2%) and Central Mexico (50.9%). Thus the most chain ownership was in the area with the greatest concentration of population, and in the center of business and wealth of the nation. Of the total of 202 daily newspapers in 1970, 70 (34.7%) were chain-owned. This was less concentration than existed in the United States, where in 1971 slightly more than half the dailies were chain-owned.

Table 4 shows daily newspaper ownership in 75 cities in 1970. Of those 75 cities, 16 (21.3%) had only chain dailies. Twenty-six cities (34.7%) had daily newspapers with no daily competition. Almost half the cities with daily newspapers in Central Mexico and the Gulf of Mexico states had no daily competition, compared with one-third or fewer of the cities in the other three large graphical areas. Throughout the nation, 49 cities (65.3%) had competing daily newspapers.

FIGURE 1 - SOME CONTROLS IN THE MEXICAN MASS MEDIA SYSTEM

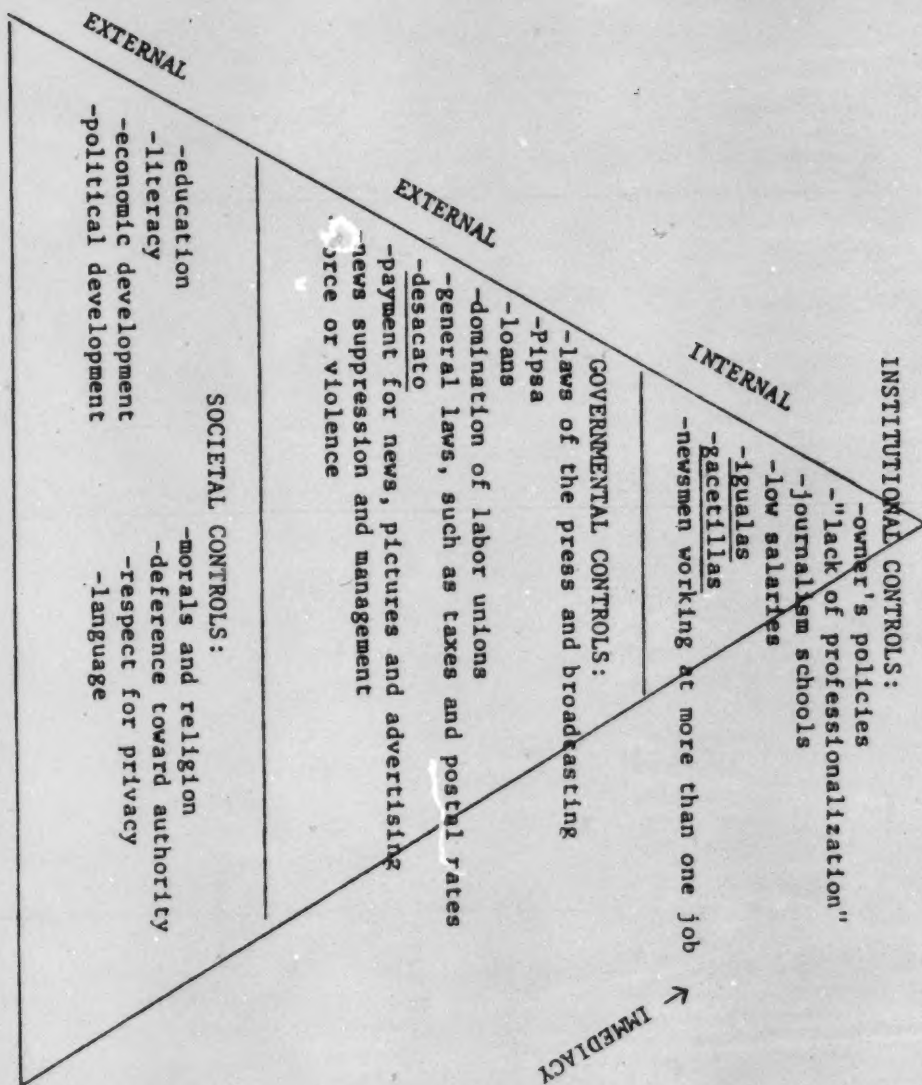


TABLE 3
CHAIN AND NONCHAIN DAILIES BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA, 1970

<u>Geographic Area/States</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Chain</u>	<u>Nonchain</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>North Pacific</u>				
Baja California Norte	Ensenada	1	0	1
	Mexicali	0	1	1
	Tijuana	0	3	3
Baja California Sur	La Paz	1	1	2
Nayarit	Tepic	0	3	3
Sinaloa	Cluiacan	2	2	4
	Guasave	0	1	1
	Mazatlán	2	3	5
	Los Mochis	0	2	2
Sonora	Cd. Obregón	1	1	2
	Guaymas	0	2	2
	Hermosillo	1	3	4
	Navojoa	0	1	1
	Nogales	0	2	2
	San Luis Río Colorado	0	1	1
Total		8 (23.5%)	26 (76.5%)	34
<u>North</u>				
Coahuila	Cd. Acuña	1	1	2
	Monclova	0	2	2
	Nueva Rosita	1	0	1
	Piedras Negras	1	2	3
	Saltillo	1	1	2
	Torreón	0	3	3
Chihuahua	Cd. Juárez	5	0	5
	Cd. Madera	0	1	1
	Chihuahua	2	1	3
	Hgo. del Parral	1	2	3
Durango	Durango	2	1	3
Nuevo León	Monterrey	1	5	6

TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)

<u>Geographic Area/States</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Chain</u>	<u>Nonchain</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>North (continued)</u>				
San Luis Potosí	Cd. Valles	0	1	1
	San Luis Potosí	2	0	2
Tamaulipas	Cd. Mante	0	3	3
	Cd. M. Alemán	0	1	1
	Cd. Victoria	0	4	4
	Matamoros	1	2	3
	Nuevo Laredo	2	0	2
	Reynosa	2	3	5
	Tampico	3	0	3
	Vallehermoso	1	0	1
Zacatecas	Fresnillo	0	1	1
	Zacatecas	2	0	2
Total		28 (45.2%)	34 (54.8%)	62
<u>Central</u>				
Aguascalientes	Aguascalientes	2	0	2
Distrito Federal	Mexico City	8	11	19
Guanajuato	Celaya	1	0	1
	Irapuato	2	1	3
	León	3	0	3
	Salamanca	1	0	1
Hidalgo	Pachuca	1	0	1
Jalisco	Guadalajara	2	2	4
México	Toluca	2	2	4
Michoacán	Apatzingán	0	1	1
	Morelia	0	2	2
	Uruapan	0	2	2
	Zamora	0	2	2
Morelos	Cuernavaca	0	1	1
Puebla	Puebla	4	2	6
	Tehuacán	0	1	1
Querétaro	Querétaro	1	0	1

TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)

<u>Geographic Area/States</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Chain</u>	<u>Nonchain</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Central (continued)</u>				
Tlaxcala	Tlaxcala	1	0	1
Total		28 (52.9%)	27 (49.1%)	55
<u>Gulf of Mexico</u>				
Campeche		0	0	0
Quintana Roo		0	0	0
Tabasco	Villahermosa	0	3	3
Veracruz	Acayucan	0	1	1
	Coatzacoalcos	1	0	1
	Cordoba	0	2	2
	Jalapa	1	4	5
	Minatitlán	0	1	1
	Orizaba	0	1	1
	Pozo Rico	0	2	2
	San Andrés Tuxtla	0	1	1
	Veracruz	1	3	4
Yucatan	Merida	1	4	5
Total		4 (15.4%)	22 (84.6%)	26
<u>South Pacific</u>				
Colima	Colima	0	3	3
Chiapas	San Cristobal			
	las Casas	0	1	1
	Tapachula	1	3	4
	Tuxtla Gutiérrez	0	5	5
Guerrero	Acapulco	1	7	8
	Chilpancingo	0	1	1
Oaxaca	Oaxaca	0	3	3
Total		2 (8.0%)	23 (92.0%)	25
<u>Totals</u>		70 (34.7)	132 (65.3%)	202

Source: 1970 Medios Publicitarios Mexicanos.

TABLE 4

OWNERSHIP OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN 75 MEXICAN CITIES, 1970

Geographic Area/State	Noncompeting Cities (One-Daily cities)*		Competing Cities		Total No. Cities with Newspapers
	Total	Chain only	Total	Chain only	
<u>North Pacific</u>					
Baja California Norte	2	1	1	0	3
Baja California Sur	0	0	1	0	1
Nayarit	0	0	1	0	1
Sinaloa	1	0	3	0	4
Sonora	2	0	4	0	6
	5 (33.3%)	1	10 (66.7%)	0	15
<u>North</u>					
Coahuila	1	1	5	0	6
Chihuahua	1	0	3	1	4
Durango	0	0	1	0	1
Nuevo León	0	0	1	0	1
San Luis Potosí	1	0	1	1	2
Tamaulipas	2	1	6	2	8
Zacatecas	1	0	1	1	2
	6 (25.0%)	2	18 (75.0%)	5	24
<u>Central</u>					
Aguascalientes	0	0	1	1	1
Districto Federal	0	0	1	0	1

TABLE 4 (CONTINUED)

Geographic Area/State	Noncompeting Cities (One-Daily cities)*		Competing Cities		Total No. Cities with Newspapers
	Total	Chain only	Total	Chain only	
<u>Central (continued)</u>					
Guanaajuato	2	2	2	1	4
Hidalgo	1	1	0	0	1
Jalisco	0	0	1	0	1
Mexico	0	0	1	0	1
Michoacan	1	0	1	0	1
Morelos	1	0	3	0	4
Puebla	1	0	0	0	1
Queretaro	1	0	1	0	2
TLaxcala	1	1	0	0	1
	8 (44.4%)	5	10 (55.6%)	2	18
<u>Gulf of Mexico</u>					
Campeche	0	0	0	0	0
Quintana Roo	0	0	0	0	0
Tabasco	0	0	1	0	1
Veracruz	5	1	4	0	9
Yucatan	0	0	1	0	1
	5 (45.5%)	1	6 (54.5%)	0	11
<u>South Pacific</u>					
Colima	0	0	1	0	1
Chilapas	1	0	2	0	3

TABLE 4 (CONTINUED)

<u>Geographic Area/State</u>	<u>Noncompeting Cities</u> <u>(One-Daily cities)*</u>		<u>Competing Cities</u>		<u>Total No.</u> <u>Cities with</u> <u>Newspapers</u>
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Chain only</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Chain only</u>	
<u>South Pacific (continued)</u>					
Guerrero	1	0	1	0	2
Oaxaca	0	0	1	0	1
	2 (28.6%)	0	5 (71.4%)	1	7
<u>Total</u>	26 (34.7%)	9	49 (65.3%)	7	75

Source: 1970 Medios Publicitarios Mexicanos.

*One-daily cities were the only type of noncompeting cities in Mexico in 1970.

In the Distrito Federal, at least 20 newspapers are now published daily. Some of them are special-interest publications dealing only with sports material, for example. Table 5 lists 15 major general-interest newspapers now published in the prestigious Mexican newspaper. It is Mexico's newspaper of record and the nearest to a national newspaper in the country. All major libraries, top government officials and prominent educators subscribe to it. It has been ranked among the world's top 30 elite newspapers.¹⁷ The afternoon edition, Ultimas Noticias de Excelsior, is much lower in quality. Excelsior is a cooperative, although only key employees have tended to own the stock and sit as members of the board of directors. Table 5 shows the ownership of 14 other major general-interest daily newspapers published in the capital city.

In the country as a whole, there are a number of small chains, each with two, three or four newspapers; in 1970, 11 such chains together accounted for 11.4% of all the dailies.

Two larger and more influential chains deserve individual mention:

Periodicos García Valseca. The largest newspaper chain in Mexico, and in the Spanish-speaking world, carries the name of Col. Jose García Valseca, an elderly millionaire who has referred to himself as the William Randolph Hearst of Mexico. In 1973 Cadena de Periodicos García Valseca was composed of three dailies in Mexico City, plus 31 dailies and 3 sports weeklies in the provinces--a total of 34 dailies and 3 weeklies. The chain covered an extensive geographical area: from El Paso, Texas, in the north, to south of Mexico City--a distance of more than 1,100 miles.

García, called El Coronel, is a military man. He was born in 1901 in Puebla, Puebla, during the administration of President Díaz, nine years before the Revolution began. When he was 13, he joined the Revolutionary army and achieved the rank of lieutenant colonel at age 20. Although he received an unlimited leave of absence from the army in 1920, he has continued to cherish his military background, saying, "Yo soy militar" (I am military).¹⁸

After ventures in merchandising and hotel work in the 1920s, he began his publishing career by founding comic books. His first newspaper was Esto, the Mexico City sports publication, but his chain developed in the provinces. His chain grew on the average by more than one provincial newspaper annually from 1941 through 1964. It was not until 1965 that he founded El Sol de México, an afternoon paper in Mexico City.

García is known as a conservative politically. He has called the newspaper Excelsior, for instance, communistic, and many times he has published ultraconservative articles in his own newspapers, including stories from the John Birch Society. García and his newspapers have championed the Mexican government, almost never criticizing it in print. "The government and I have the same philosophy," he has asserted. "We are friends." He has further stated that the government gives the Mexican press absolute liberty.¹⁹

The García Valseca organization may be called the El Sol (The Sun) chain because most of the newspapers are titled El Sol, followed by the name of the city in which they are published. García has declared that he

TABLE 5

OWNERSHIP OF 15 MAJOR GENERAL-INTEREST DAILY NEWSPAPERS
IN MEXICO, D. F., 1970 AND 1973

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Daily Circulation</u>	
		<u>1970</u>	<u>1973</u>
<u>Avance</u>	Independent	30,000 ^a	35,000 ^a
<u>El Día</u>	Independent	50,000 ^a	65,000
<u>Excélsior (M)</u>	Cooperative	149,572	151,540
<u>Ultimas Noticias de</u> <u>Excélsior (E)</u>	Cooperative	135,501 ^b	96,692 ^b
<u>El Heraldo</u>	Independent	161,768	185,000
<u>Novedades (M)</u>	Chain (O'Farrill)	140,773	122,697
<u>Diario de la Tarde (E)</u>	Chain (O'Farrill)	80,269	71,404
<u>The News (English)</u>	Chain (O'Farrill)	21,915	24,115
<u>Ovaciones (M)</u>	Independent	178,300	200,587
<u>Ovaciones (E)</u>	Independent	159,600	171,670
<u>La Prensa</u>	Cooperative	185,361	184,476
<u>El Sol de México (M)</u>	Chain (García Valseca)	157,000	130,000
<u>El Sol de México (E)</u>	Chain (García Valseca)	145,000	135,000
<u>El Universal (M)</u>	Independent	151,242	168,694
<u>El Universal Grafico (E)</u>	Independent	80,620	78,000

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1973</u>
Independent:	811,530 (44.4% of total)	903,951 (49.7%)
Chain:	544,957 (29.8%)	483,216 (26.5%)
Cooperative:	470,434 (25.8%)	432,708 (23.8%)
Total Circulation:	1,826,921 (100.0%)	1,819,875 (100.0%)

Source: 1970 and 1973-74 Medios Publicitarios Mexicanos.^a Estimated.^b Two afternoon editions combined.

chose the name "to bring the light to the people." Table 6 shows that in 1973 newspapers in the chain were published in 22 cities in 15 Mexican states, and in the Federal District and El Paso. In 1970, the chain's total unaudited circulation was listed as 1,311,419, or 28.8% of the total circulation of all Mexican daily general-interest newspapers.

Beginning in 1941 with Esto, now a tabloid sports publication which claims the largest daily circulation of any Mexican newspaper, García Valseca established 29 newspapers and acquired 5 others in 28 years. In 1972, however, it was reported that the Mexican government took controlling interest in the García Valseca chain. It reportedly happened this way:

The chain had a long-standing loan debt due to Nacional Financiera. One knowledgeable observer of Mexican financial affairs wrote in spring 1972 that the debt was estimated at 150 million pesos (\$12 million U.S.).²⁰ The government, through Nacional Financiera, called the debt, and in turn the debt became equity in SOMEX (Sociedad Mexicana de Credito Industrial, S.A., or Mexican Society of Industrial Credit, Inc.), an important finance agency of which the government owns the majority of stock. SOMEX has extensive holdings in various industrial enterprises. In the takeover, SOMEX became the majority stockholder in the García Valseca chain.

One report at the time declared that García Valseca had announced his retirement "for health reasons" from the business-side direction of the chain; the same report announced the appointment of Miguel Rico Ramírez, former director general for expenses of the Treasury Department and director general of the Bank of Mexico, as executive vice-president in charge of administration.²¹

Today García Valseca's name still appears as president and director general on the nameplates of the newspapers in the chain, but SOMEX administrative and financial personnel are reported to exercise at least some control through SOMEX stock.

The García Valseca chain is headquartered in a modern building occupying almost an entire block at Calle de Guillermo Prieto 7 in Mexico City.

The O'Farrill Newspaper Chain. The second-largest chain is a group of at least seven daily newspapers owned by the prominent O'Farrill family. Table 7 shows that the chain in 1973 was published in five cities and claimed a total daily circulation of 315,107.

Romulo O'Farrill Sr., an automobile tycoon, began to build his mass media enterprises in 1948 when he became the fourth owner of Publicaciones Herrerías (Herrerías Publications). At that time, he was not well-known in journalistic circles, but he soon came to be.

The leading member of the chain is Novedades (The News), published in Mexico City. Established in 1934 as a weekly, Novedades grew in less than three decades from a sensational tabloid aimed at Sunday bullfight audiences to the nation's second-ranking quality newspaper.¹⁹ It became a daily in 1935 under founder Ignacio F. Herrerías, who was murdered in 1944 by an instigator of a strike among Novedades workers.²⁰ In 1946 a group of busi-

TABLE 6

GROWTH OF THE GARCIA VALSECA DAILY NEWSPAPER CHAIN*

Year Established/ Acquired	Daily Newspaper (Morning/Afternoon)	Unaudited 1970 Circulation	City	State
1941-E	<u>Foto (M)</u>	246,800	Mexico City	Districto Federal
1943-E	<u>El Fronterizo (M)</u>	33,596	Cd. Juárez	Chihuahua
1944-E	<u>El Sol de Puebla (M)</u>	43,182	Puebla	Puebla
1944-A	<u>**El Heraldo (M)</u>	45,000	Chihuahua	Chihuahua
1945-E	<u>El Sol del Centro (M)</u>	19, 946	Aguascalientes	Aguascalientes
1946-E	<u>El Sol de León(M)</u>	44,330	León	Guanaajuato
1947-A	<u>**El Continental (Night)</u>	8,000	El Paso	Texas
1947-E	<u>***El Sol de Toluca (M)</u>	15,000	Toluca	México
1947-A	<u>**El Mexicano (A)</u>	23,023	Cd. Juárez	Chihuahua
1947-E	<u>El Sol de Durango (M)</u>	14,750	Durango	Durango
1947-E	<u>El Sol del Pacifico (M)</u>	16,797	Mazatlán	Sinaloa
1948-E	<u>El Sol de Guadalaajara (A)</u>	46,797	Guadalaajara	Jalisco
1949-E	<u>El Sol de Hidalgo (M)</u>	14,691	Pachuca	Hidalgo
1949-E	<u>El Sol de Bajío (M)</u>	12,591	Celava	Guanaajuato
1949-A	<u>**El Occidental (M)</u>	84,500	Guadalaajara	Jalisco
1950-E	<u>El Sol de Tampico (M)</u>	60,000	Tampico	Tamaulipas
1952-E	<u>El Sol de San Luis (M)</u>	28,637	San Luis Potosí	San Luis Potosí
1953-E	<u>***La Voz de Puebla (A)</u>	31,000	Puebla	Puebla
1954-E	<u>***El Sol de Irapuato (M)</u>	18,000	Irapuato	Guanaajuato
1955-E	<u>El Heraldo de la Tarde (A)</u>	18,302	Chihuahua	Chihuahua
1955-E	<u>El Sol de Tlaxcala (M)</u>	12,095	Tlaxcala	Tlaxcala
1955-E	<u>El Sol de la Tarde (A)</u>	25,000	Tampico	Tamaulipas
1955-E	<u>El Sol del Norte (M)</u>	18,893	Saltillo	Coahuila
1956-E	<u>El Sol de Sinaloa (M)</u>	16,240	Culiacán	Sinaloa

TABLE 6 (CONTINUED)

Year Established/ Acquired	Daily Newspaper (Morning/Afternoon)	Circulation	City	State
1957-E	<u>Extra de El Sol (A)</u>	8,000	Toluca	México
1958-E	*** <u>El Sol de Salamanca (M)</u>	6,299	Salamanca	Guanajuato
1959-A	** <u>Diario de Durango (A)</u>	8,150	Durango	Durango
1961-E	<u>Noticias Vespertinas (A)</u>	13,000	León	Guanajuato
1964-E	<u>El Sol de Zacatecas (M)</u>	8,000	Zacatecas	Zacatecas
1964-E	<u>Noticias de El Sol (A)</u>	15,000	Mazatlán	Sinaloa
1965-E	<u>El Sol de México (A)</u>	145,000	México City	Distrito Federal
1965-E	<u>El Sol de Culiacan (A)</u>	15,000	Culiacan	Sinaloa
1965-E	<u>El Sol de México (M)</u>	130,000	México City	Distrito Federal
1968-E	<u>Tribuna de Monterrey (M)</u>	65,000	Monterrey	Nuevo León
Total:	29-E 34 Dailies - 22 M 5-A 11 A 1 N	1,311,419	22 cities	15 states, the D.F. and Texas

Source: November 1973 to February 1974 Medios Publicitarios Mexicanos and El Sol de Puebla, 5 May 1969 anniversary supplement.

*The chain also includes three weekly publications (Sunday sports editions) attached to daily newspapers: 1) El Sol Deportivo, established in 1948 in Guadalajara, 2) La Voz Semanal, established in 1953 in Puebla and 3) Noticias Deportivas, established in 1955 in León.

**Before acquisition by the García Valencía chain, El Herald of Chihuahua was founded in 1927, El Continental in 1925, El Mexicano in 1932, El Occidental in 1942 and Diario de Durango in 1957.

***El Sol de Toluca was titled Diario de Toluca until 31 December 1949. El Sol de Salamanca until 5 March 1964 was titled Noticias de Salamanca. La Voz de Puebla appeared as the second edition of El Sol de Puebla until 17 May 1953. El Sol de Irapuato was titled Noticias until 5 February 1964.

nessmen led by Jorge Pasquel, a wealthy sportsman-businessman and a friend of President Alemán, purchased Publicaciones Herrerías. O'Farrill took control in August 1948.

Under his leadership, the organization began to grow rapidly. On 5 July 1950, The News, a morning tabloid in English aimed primarily at the resident Anglo colony and tourists, appeared. In 1957 Diario de la Tarde (Afternoon Daily) joined the growing family of publications. In the 1960s, four more daily newspapers--all called Novedades--became part of the chain. Table 7 shows that the largest of these was Novedades de Yucatán. Novedades de Puebla began in 1966, and Novedades de Acapulco was established as a separate newspaper in 1969, the same year that Novedades de la Tarde in Mérida began. Novedades de Campeche began in 1973.

All the O'Farrill newspapers have separate staffs, although overall business operations of the chain are centralized and general policy is set in Mexico City; the headquarters is the Novedades building at Balderas 87.

The O'Farrill family could be called the most influential private owner in the entire Mexican mass media system, for the family controls a large communications enterprise, including some of the most important newspapers and magazines in the nation, an influential radio chain and vast holdings in the TV industry. Besides the chain of at least seven daily newspapers, the family has controlled the national radio station XEX and a group of approximately 20 magazines, ranging from risque pulp "novelas" to slick general-interest periodicals. The O'Farrills have been one of the two major owners in the TV industry since TV began in Mexico. Romulo O'Farrill Sr. founded the nation's first TV station, XH-TV (Channel 4), inaugurated in 1950 in the Distrito Federal. A second channel (XEW-TV, Channel 2) was founded in 1951 by Emilio Azcarraga Vidaurreta. Today the O'Farrill and Azcarraga families together control Televisa, S.A., the giant of the Mexican TV industry. In 1974 Televisa consisted of 82 TV stations throughout Mexico, including the four most influential channels (2, 4, 5 and 8 in the Distrito Federal). Approximately 60% of the 82 stations were owned wholly by the two families; the remaining 40% were owned either by other individuals or groups, or in part by the O'Farrill and Azcarraga families.

Summary and Discussion

Mexico has often been cited as a model for other Latin American countries because it has overcome social, economic and political problems that some others have not, and because it has exhibited relative political stability for the past half century--an unusual phenomenon in Latin America. Since the Revolution of 1910, and especially since World War II, Mexico's media development has been rather stable compared with that of several other Latin American nations. The greatest growth throughout the Mexican media system began in the 1960s.

Various societal, governmental and institutional controls have operated to maintain relative stability in the media system. The controls are nowhere near as stringent as those imposed by a totalitarian or authoritarian regime; nor are they as relaxed as those existing in a more developed and secure

GROWTH OF THE O'FARRILL DAILY NEWSPAPER CHAIN

TABLE 7

Year of Establishment/ Acquisition	Established/ Acquired	Daily Newspaper	Morning/ Afternoon	Circulation 1970 1973	City	State
1948	A	Novedades (Publica- ciones Herrerías)	M	140,773	México	D. F.
1950	E	The News	M	16,000	México	D. F.
1957	E	Diario de la Tarde	A	80,269	México	D. F.
1965	A	Novedades de Yucatán	M	45,212	Merida	Yucatán
1966	E	Novedades de Puebla	M	15,000	Puebla	Puebla
1969	E	Novedades de la Tarde	A	8,000	Merida	Yucatán
1969	E	Novedades de Acapulco	M	12,120	Acapulco	Campeche
1973	?	Novedades de Campeche	M	-	Campeche	Campeche
Total	5 Established 2 Acquired	8 Dailies	2 Afternoon 6 Morning	317,374 315,107	4 cities	3 states and the D. F.

Source: 1970 and 1973-74 Medios Publicitarios Mexicanos and Interviews with Publicaciones Herrerías administrators in 1970.

*This newspaper, listed in 1970 editions of Medios Publicitarios Mexicanos, was not listed in the November 1973 to February 1974 edition.

democracy. The amount of press freedom has depended on the administration in power, and the press rarely criticizes the president seriously while he is in office.

General social, economic, political and institutional factors have contributed to the growth of media ownership concentration, but the overall concentration is so heavy as is evident in, for example, such developed nations as the United States, West Germany or England, or in many developing nations. On the other hand, a few individuals control large and influential media enterprises.

Footnotes

¹Erling H. Erlandson, "The Press in Mexico: Past, Present and Future," Journalism Quarterly, 41: 232 (Spring 1964).

²Robert T. Armistead, The History of Novedades, unpublished master's thesis, University of Texas, 1964, p.1.

³See Marvin Alisky, "Growth of Newspapers in Mexico's Provinces," Journalism Quarterly, 37: 75-82 (Winter 1960).

⁴Unesco also listed as a standard 2 cinema seats per 100 population.

⁵Alfonso Argudín, "Mexican Press Is Attaining Influence and Stability," Journalism Quarterly, 24: 137 (June 1947). That law was repealed in 1937 during the Cárdenas administration.

⁶Luis Castañeda, Regimen Legal de la Prensa en México (Mexico, D. F.: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1962), p. 243.

⁷E. Lloyd Sommerlad, The Press in Developing Countries (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1966), p. 16.

⁸Ibid., p. 153.

⁹Letter from Arroyo Ch. to Prof. Raymond B. Nixon, University of Minnesota, 23 August 1966. Nixon noted that Política, which ran no advertising, had several financial problems which contributed to its subsequent demise.

¹⁰See, for example, Erlandson, p. 235 and Robert U. Brown, "Shop Talk at Thirty," Editor & Publisher, 20 November 1965, p. 68, and remarks attributed to Mexican media owner Rómulo O'Farrill, Jr., quoted in Armistead, p. 190.

¹¹Erlandson, p. 235.

¹²Personal interview with Juan Francisco Ealy Ortiz Garza, manager and director general who owned 54% of the stock in El Universal, Mexico City, 11 August 1970.

¹³Colin Willis, "Entrenched press corruption challenges Mexican editor," Editor & Publisher, 3 July 1972, p. 14.

¹⁴Personal interviews with Mexico City newsmen, 1970. They prefer to remain unnamed.

¹⁵Gardner describes this practice in Guatemala. Mary A. Gardner, The Press of Guatemala, Journalism Monograph 18 (Lexington, Kentucky: Association for Education in Journalism, 1971), p. 46.

¹⁶Raymond B. Nixon and Tae-youll Hahn, "Concentration of Press Ownership: A Comparison of 32 Countries," Journalism Quarterly, 48: 15-16 (Spring 1971).

¹⁷John C. Merrill, The Elite Press (New York: Pitman Publishing Co., 1968), p. 242.

¹⁸Personal interview with Jose García Valseca in Mexico City, August 1970.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰John Christman, Business Trends, 17 April 1972. This and other details of the takeover were confirmed in a personal interview with Christman, editorial director of Publicaciones Executivas de México, S. A., in Mexico City, 20 November 1972.

²¹IAPA News, May-June 1972, p. 4.

Remarks by R. Bruce Underwood

Biographical note: Dr. Underwood is head of the mass communication program at Pan American University in Edinburg, Tex. Previously he was head of the journalism department at Temple University. In 1963-64, he conducted research in Mexico on a Lyndon B. Johnson fellowship. In 1965 he completed his Ph.D. dissertation--A Survey of Contemporary Newspapers of Mexico--at the University of Missouri. Some of his international interests are diffusion of innovation in Latin America, journalism education in Latin America, Europe and Africa, and international communications of the U.S. Air Force. His foreign experience includes a Fulbright-Hays lecture-ship in Spain. He holds a B.S. in journalism from Southern Methodist University and an M.A. in education administration from Stanford University.

The following is a summary of Dr. Underwood's remarks, taken from tapes of the proceedings:

There is good news and bad news about the press of any country, Dr. Underwood said. He spoke of the good news of the Mexican press first, making numerous points. Among them:

--Mexico has come an extremely long way as far as laws are concerned. Mexico has come from nothing, from the greatest and most rigid censorship, even worse than that of the British. The Spaniards were restrictive and suspicious of freedom.

--At least a few women have always been prominent in Mexican journalism. Even during the Mexican revolution against Spain, women played a significant part. One early newspaper was published and staffed entirely by women.

--Mexican journalism, especially in the hinterlands, has been extremely enterprising. One newspaper was edited in Michoacan and then flown 600 miles to Mexico City, where it was printed and sent back. Mexico has probably taken a lead in publishing mimeograph newspapers, a lead not matched in other countries. The rural and community press has been courageous in many fields. Many editorials and news stories have exposed poor conditions in, for example, health centers, and community editors have battled against food monopolies. There has been a great deal of exposure of the Church; this was a fad some years ago. It shows that there was freedom to expose whatever the editors wanted to expose. Rural and community journalists have enjoyed unusual prestige. And in Mexico City, there is the Colonia de Periodistas (Neighborhood of Journalists, one of many named neighborhoods in the city). Dr. Underwood said he knew of no other neighborhood in the world named for journalists.

--Mexican journalists are recognized abroad. Mexico is looked up to as a leader among developing nations, and Mexican journalists have popularized this a great deal. Journalists have been honored with awards in other nations.

For what he called the bad news of the Mexican press, Dr. Underwood prefaced his remarks with the caveat that they were made in the spirit of a member of a press council. He added that he would criticize the U.S. press even more harshly because he knows more about it. He listed some barriers to the free flow of accurate information that exist in rural sections of Mexico:

--Illiteracy. The literacy rate is rising constantly, but many people still can't read. That cuts down the potential of newspaper circulation, and it impedes the people's ability to think out news and separate it from propaganda.

--Cultural and language barriers. He said 28 languages besides Spanish are spoken in Mexico.

--Training of journalists. Although such training is improving, it is still a barrier. Journalists in all countries should not be trained North American style. People in all countries should be encouraged to use the most natural form from their own nation in presenting news and information.

--Financial barriers. Because of the lack of mass production, transportation difficulties and the consequent lack of mass advertising, Mexican newspapers do not have the financial independence that many persons think they should. Therefore newspapers are at the mercy of persons and groups which give them handouts.

--Most newspapers are located in transportation centers, but the hinterlands still have few papers. The tremendous dominance of Mexico City worsens the problem.

--Tradition. He said in smaller newspapers especially, there is the problem of being overly polite in news stories, of saying what the editors think the people want to read. He noted, however, that he found a tremendous awakening of people to social injustice and government inefficiency.

Remarks by James H. Budd

Biographical note: Mr. Budd is editor of Expansión, a business magazine published by Publicaciones Ejecutivas de México, S.A., in Mexico City; the company is a young organization patterned after but not related to McGraw-Hill. A New Yorker who was graduated from the journalism school at Columbia University, he has lived in Mexico City for more than 15 years; before joining Expansión, he was editor of The (Mexico City) News, the city's English-language daily newspaper.

The following is a summary of Mr. Budd's remarks, taken from tapes of the proceedings:

He spoke on the ownership and control of the Mexican press, concentrating on newspapers in Mexico City. The capital, he noted, is the home of 23 dailies. Of these, half a dozen have national circulation. He noted that there are no suburban newspapers such as are often found in communities surrounding large U.S. cities.

"The press is pretty well run by the Establishment," he said. Although the government has a daily newspaper of its own, its circulation is limited. Most big dailies are owned by wealthy, influential families. But there are major exceptions. Two dailies, the two biggest, are cooperatives run by their employees. La Prensa, the daily with the largest circulation in Mexico, is a tabloid that might be compared to the New York Daily News. It is not considered particularly influential. Excelsior, on the other hand, is Mexico City's version of The New York Times. Within its ranks, there is a constant struggle for control by liberal and conservative employees. "When I first came to Mexico, Excelsior was considered the spokesman for the Washington point of view," Mr. Budd recalled. "Today it is considered anti-American, although its editor, Julio Scherer, denies this."

A third paper, El Sol, is part of the Garcia-Valseca chain, which reportedly has been taken over by the government. According to well-informed sources, the chain was unable to repay its debts to various government banks, and foreclosure followed. It is a conservative paper, and there has been no indication that its editorial policy is changing, although the current administration in Mexico is not considered conservative. "The fact that the takeover cannot be confirmed illustrates how the press in Mexico is, in a manner of speaking, controlled," Mr. Budd said. "While there is freedom of the press, there is no freedom of information. The government is not obliged to reveal anything." At the same time, Mr. Budd noted that seldom does the Mexican press really demand information. He cited a certain amount of apathy and self-censorship.

"Because of the large number of newspapers in the city, there is considerable competition for advertising and, as a result, rates are low," he said. "This means publishers have little money to pay their reporters. However, a reporter can find many rewards, including outright bribes from both public officials and private sources. Many journalists also hold jobs as press agents. They get along better if they don't look for scandal." Were a scandal, such as Watergate, uncovered in Mexico, Mr. Budd doubted that the

press would pursue it. It would, he said, be more profitable not to. He noted that in Mexico the government controls many of the largest businesses, including the national railway system, the petroleum monopoly and an airline. As a result, the government controls a large amount of advertising, and few publishers are willing to risk offending a major advertiser. "These controls are subtle," Mr. Budd said. "Through loans, aid and payments to reporters and advertising, the government has a great influence on newspaper publishers. Yet the pressures that are applied are mild. It is unlikely that anyone attempts to dictate policy or tell the papers what to print. Rather, editors and publishers try to print what will please those who are in power."

This, he noted, may include attacks on government institutions such as the social security system. "There are, of course, various factions within the government, and one group may encourage criticism of another," he said. "When deficiencies are reported, newspapers give the impression of being crusading journals, but this is seldom the case."

Finally, Mr. Budd noted that newsprint is distributed by a government-controlled company. Even so, he said, he knew of no case where this had been used as a weapon. "I've spent 15 years in Mexican journalism, and I've never seen the government try to dictate to the press. It doesn't have to. Just as most writers try to give editors what they want, editors in Mexico know it's to their advantage to print what the government will like and spike copy that might be displeasing."

Remarks by Alejandro Junco de la Vega

Biographical note: Mr. Junco de la Vega is managing editor of the El Norte and El Sol daily newspapers in Monterrey, the capital of the state of Nuevo Leon in Mexico. He holds a bachelor of journalism degree from the University of Texas at Austin and has taught in the University of Monterrey's journalism laboratory program.

The following is a summary of his remarks, taken from tapes of the proceedings:

For the most part, his comments concerned items mentioned by previous panelists and items listed in the pyramid of controls presented by Dr. Cole. His observations included:

--Pipsa (the government-controlled newsprint agency) could become an important threat to press freedom, but it has not been in the past.

--Government loans to newspapers. He said the Mexican press is at a critical stage because the fate of the largest Mexican newspaper chain, the Garcia Valseca group, is uncertain. He added that at least a suspicion exists that part of that chain's problems concerned loans from the government, concluding that the exact status of the chain is not known.

--Government payment for news, pictures and advertising. He said this subject has been discussed widely among editors, publishers and advertisers. Speaking of the Junco de la Vega publications (El Norte and El Sol in Monterrey), he said the owners have tried to get away from the practice. He said he believes that advertisers are entitled to buy and use newspaper space in the manner they please, but he pointed out that in his newspapers when advertisers wish to run an ad that looks like a news story, a note is added at the end of the story. The note is "I.P.," which stands for "paid insertion" in Spanish. He said this practice is not ideal because all readers will not go to the end of the story, and many will not realize what "I.P." means, yet his newspapers are competitive. If they do not sell space, others will. In some publications, he said, the same type face is used for both ads and editorial matter, but not in those owned by his family.

He said that Mexican journalism schools have only in recent years begun to produce qualified beginning journalists. He observed that in at least two cases a few years ago journalism graduates hired on the El Norte papers did not know how to type; they had some theory of communications knowledge but no actual skills. He said he hoped the increasing amount of journalistic education would help bring about higher salaries for journalists.

Remarks by Romulo O'Farrill

(See his biographical note earlier in this section.)

The following is a summary of Mr. O'Farrill's remarks, taken from tapes of the proceedings:

Mr. O'Farrill delineated three types of newspaper ownership in Mexico. The first is the cooperative, such as La Prensa, a Mexico City newspaper with an appeal to the more highly educated reader. He said he does not advocate cooperatives because they give private owners of newspapers unjust competition, for they do not pay the same taxes. He pointed to the problem of competing factions within cooperatives. The second type of newspaper ownership is by government; El Nacional is owned by the government completely. The third type of ownership is private, which constitutes the rest of Mexico's newspapers. He declared that the Garcia Valseca chain is not owned by the government, and he added that some of the individual newspapers in the chain are profitable and others are not. He said it might be possible for a private group to purchase the Garcia Valseca chain outright. He estimated that 90% of Mexico's newspapers are owned privately.

As a newspaper publisher, he mentioned the problem of labor unions, observing that the normal practice is to negotiate contracts every two years. For cooperatives, however, no labor problems exist.

The government does, of course, advertise in newspapers, but he disagreed with the importance that some other panelists placed on the fact. He declared that at least 80 percent of the advertising in his Novedades newspapers comes from private sources. He said a newspaper should be a window that an advertiser can use to sell his product, but an advertiser has no right to apply pressure to a newspaper's news or editorials.

Mr. O'Farrill disagreed with the 1970 newsprint consumption figure for Mexico (158,800 tons) listed in a table presented by Dr. Cole. He said the newsprint consumption figure for 1973 should be some 250,000 tons. (Dr. Cole said he was merely using published figures from Unesco and other sources.)

He spoke in some detail of Pipsa, the newsprint agency, noting that he has been a member of the Pipsa board of directors for some 20 years. At Inter American Press Association meetings, he said, concern has been expressed as to whether Pipsa exerts undue control on the Mexican press. He said if such an organization existed in totalitarian countries, or in militaristic ones, a dictator could control all of a nation's newsprint. The Mexican experience, he said, is very different. He recalled some of Pipsa's history: the organization was created more than 30 years ago when newsprint was rather difficult to obtain. At the time, newspaper editors and publishers asked the government to form such an organization to obtain paper. Since then, most editors and publishers have found it convenient to have Pipsa as the one organization to purchase and distribute newsprint, for it to handle transportation, shipping and delivery to the publication. Pipsa is a nonprofit organization, and a 10% tax exists on newsprint. When the paper comes from Pipsa, however, the publications do not pay that tax. Mr. O'Farrill said he has discussed this clause with the government officials, asking that it be abolished, but it has not.

Like other panelists, he said Pipsa could be a threat to press freedom if Mexico were a dictatorship. But that has not happened, and it has been newspaper editors and publishers who asked to continue the organization. During the administration of President Diaz Ordaz, the original 30-year Pipsa charter expired. Newspaper owners asked that the charter be reinstated for another 30 years, which was done. Mr. O'Farrill pointed out that Pipsa is now structured so that 40% of its capital is owned by newspapers. The board of directors meets monthly; Pipsa has never been used as a weapon to control press freedom, he said.

He said Pipsa, because it charges large and small publications the same rate for newsprint, aids smaller newspapers. For in a private-enterprise system, larger enterprises would be able to buy paper in volume and obtain lower prices than the smaller enterprises would.

Mr. O'Farrill said he was unhappy about newspaper circulation in Mexico, declaring that publishers and owners need to get more people to read. He said approximately 27% of the population does not know how to read or write, and he noted that exposure to television is 40% of the entire population, certainly much higher than newspaper circulation.

Questions and Answers

Virtually all questions were put to Mr. O'Farrill. The following is a summary from the taped proceedings:

Prof. Robert Pierce, University of Florida: Is the market in Mexico City oversaturated by both newspapers and broadcast media? Do you think Mexico will necessarily go through the purge that North American and British cities have gone through—a wholesale dying out of competing media?

Mr. O'Farrill: Except for the main newspapers in Mexico City, the rest have very small circulations. How do they survive? I don't know. The cooperatives do, I know that. And there is capital behind El Herald; if it loses money, they can back it up. If it makes money, all the better. In our own particular case, we are economically healthy. We survive off our income of advertising, street sales and subscriptions. We make some profit—not very much—but we are profitable.

Both Mr. Budd and Mr. Junco said they did not know how the smaller newspapers survived.

Prof. Raymond B. Nixon, University of Minnesota: Mr. O'Farrill answered the question I wanted to ask—about how the unprofitable papers keep alive. I'm interested both because I'm interested in the Mexican press and because I've done a lot of work on the economics of publishing in the States. And I don't see—unless somebody is doing it either for the power he thinks he's exercising, or for the prestige it gives him—how he keeps on publishing the paper.

Mr. O'Farrill: I simply and sincerely don't know. I presume that some small financial groups want to participate in the ownership of a paper, and they invest. I would say that many of these papers are not healthy economically. They don't have the necessary circulation, but they seem to be printed all the time.

Prof. John Mitchell, Syracuse University: Could you give us a little more on the mechanics of how Pipsa decides on the distribution of newsprint? Even if there is a universal price, is it allocated on the basis of circulation or some other factor so that the large organizations don't buy up an inordinate amount of paper?

Mr. O'Farrill: From the end of the last war, when there was a shortage of newsprint, up until September of last year, a publication would have been able to order freely as much newsprint as it wanted. Now it is a different situation. What we don't know is what is going to happen to the market. The United States being one of the biggest users of newsprint in the world, it is going to certainly have an effect. Is the U.S. going to use more newsprint? How much higher is the price going to go? Once we know the market situation, I believe that in Mexico we again will be able to buy as much newsprint as is openly required by any publication. There is a record of how much newsprint we have been using in the past. When the problem of a lack of newsprint came, then they went back on the historical facts of the past two years; it was allocated on a percentage basis. We all were reduced by exactly the same percentage of our previous consumption.

Question: In the U.S., there is a growing trend toward suburban papers in the larger cities. Do any of you see indications that smaller newspapers may move to the suburbs?

Prof. Underwood: There are suburban chains already here in Mexico City.

Mr. O'Farrill: We are making a test ourselves. Mexico City is growing at such a terrific pace, something like 9 or 10% per annum, and new neighborhoods are developing. In our newspaper Novedades, we are devoting one page a week to one special section of the city to promote larger sales. In the future, it will probably follow the same trend as in the United States. I want to have a newspaper in Satellite City (a suburb), and other areas of the city.

Question: How does the newsprint shortage affect the different parts of the paper? What gets cut, international news, or does everything get cut about the same?

Mr. O'Farrill: We follow the rule in Novedades that 50% is advertising, 50% is news content. I would like to have 60%-40%, which is considered ideal. Some newspapers in the States have about 78% advertising. The more advertising, the more news; the less advertising, the less news.

Question: What is the problem in finding out how much the government owns of the Garcia Valseca chain?

Mr. Budd: I would say there is freedom of the press here. If you've got the information, you can print it. But getting the information is completely different. You can go to the people involved and ask. I went over to El Sol (the flagship of the Garcia Valseca chain) and asked an executive there. He said, "We have no announcement to make," in effect. This is quite common not only in Mexico but in Latin America in general: "If we have something to tell you, we'll let you know; meanwhile, mind your own business."

Mr. O'Farrill to Mr. Budd: Jim, do you mean that in the States a reporter goes to the White House and asks for an interview on any particular subject and immediately gets a response?

Mr. Budd: Well, they got the Watergate stuff out (laughter).

Mr. O'Farrill: Not from the White House (laughter).

Prof. Jerry Knudson, Temple University: Why was there no official governmental spokesman in Mexico after the Revolution of 1910 until El Nacional, whereas in Bolivia, the scene of the second social and economic revolution in Latin America, there was both La Nacion and later La Tarde between 1952 and 1964 and, of course, in Cuba today there is only the official governmental newspaper before El Nacional? And how much influence does El Nacional have today?

Mr. O'Farrill: One secret of our political stability is our political party system. When Gen. de Gaulle visited Mexico, he told the then President, Lopez Mateos, that he wished France had a party system like Mexico's. PRI

(the ruling political party), which has gone through two changes of names, has existed for 45 years, and in 1929 the official party decided to have a newspaper as its spokesman. Ever since, El Nacional has been published. At times, it has been rather important: it had much more influence than it has now. Now it has a small circulation, and it probably can be used as an official gazette in certain aspects, but it certainly cannot compare, with all due respect, to any other of the bigger newspapers.

Question: Does the government back or own part of Excelsior?

Mr. O'Farrill: No, I can assure you that that is not the case, and you would be even more assured if you read the paper.

Question: What has been the position of the newspapers toward religion?

Mr. O'Farrill: No problem. What came out of the Revolution (of 1916), regarding this was a complete separation between government and religion. Today 98% of Mexicans are Catholics, and it has come to a time where you have no problem in your religious beliefs, and in a priest going around and doing his job, and in the spiritual and moral aspects. Some priests occasionally become political statesmen, and nothing happens. You can publish anything you want about religion in any newspaper in Mexico: nothing happens. It is part of press freedom.

Prof. Leslie Moeller, University of Iowa: In many nations of the world the news staffs are asking a greater voice in policy, and sometimes in personnel choices. To what extent is this situation developing in Mexico?

Mr. O'Farrill: I think that's generally true in any newspaper. I'm quite sure that all the people who work in our newspaper would like to have more to say in what happens. As an editor, I would certainly like them to do more than they do, and more professionally, so that we have a better newspaper. But the trend of any organization, not only newspapers, is that the people want more to say.

Mr. Moeller: Are they taking active steps to ask for this voice in decision-making?

Mr. O'Farrill: You mean organized? No. Whenever it's possible, I like to meet with them. We're open to that. We get together and discuss problems openly. I am very much interested in the participation of all the people who work for me. They can give us ideas that can improve our newspaper; when that takes place, I am not only happy but thankful.

Mr. Junco: In the El Norte organization (in Monterrey), we have an editorial advisory board of eight persons--the editor of the morning paper, El Norte, and the editor of the afternoon paper, El Sol, and six other persons. Two from the newsroom are rotated to participate in the board meetings. They are reporters or makeup editors, etc. They get their voices in. Usually they are quite willing to go along; they have not pressured in the past.

Question: What about newsmen having more than one job?

Mr. O'Farrill: I don't think it's exactly true that 100% of the newsmen have two jobs. I would accept that probably a percentage of them do. The problem of salaries is brought up by the union every two years, and we revise every salary. The other aspect is that there is always a struggle between the amount of salary you pay and making the economics of the newspaper work. When you lose a capable person because you can't pay him enough, you suffer a greater loss than if you were able to keep him. But this is a situation we have to encounter all the time. I wish I could pay our people 10 times as much as we do, but I don't think I could afford it.

Mr. Budd: I would like to add something to that. We mentioned that there are more than 20 newspapers in Mexico City. The industry has a certain amount of advertising revenue that has to be split among those 20 newspapers. Which means that none of them get enough money, and advertising rates are very low. Advertising rates are a fraction of what they are in U.S. papers. So their incomes are low; that's why salaries are low. If you eliminated 9 of every 10 newspapers here, or say we had four newspapers here (in Mexico City), advertising rates would go up, and you could pay more money to the people you work for the papers. The profit margin that the best newspapers have is something like 2 or 3%.

Mr. Junco: There is not enough money, and the handling of news is inefficient. If you have 23 newsrooms in the city, there is not enough money for all of them to do a good job. A lot of it depends also on the way the industry standards are; many journalists today simply do not produce what they should.

Mr. O'Farrill: You participants will have the opportunity to read our papers during this seminar. I must say that I'm very proud of the job the people who work with us do. I wish we could pay them more money, but I think they are happy with the jobs they have. They do a very nice professional job. The News, the English-language newspaper, is considered not only here in Mexico but outside of Mexico to be very professionally done. And for Novedades, I'm never happy with the job we do, but I'm very proud of the efforts we make every day, and proud of the people who work with us.

The Basics of Broadcasting Controls in Mexico and the United States

By Harold A. Fisher

Biographical note: Fisher is assistant professor of journalism at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. He has taught at American University of Beirut, Lebanon, and American University College of Beirut. He has worked in Ethiopia, Kenya and other African nations. The author of articles in academic journalism, he holds the Ph.D. and M.A. from Indiana University, and the S.T.M. and B.D. degrees from San Francisco Theological Seminary.

In every nation, the broadcaster is subject to legal and governmental regulations. These controls range across a wide spectrum, from considerable freedom in countries with representative forms of democratic governments to absolute control in autocratic countries. After surveying broadcasting operations throughout the world in the last decade, Walter Emery concluded that "in no other country does the broadcaster have more freedom than he does in the United States."¹ My own contacts with broadcasting in Africa, Asia, Europe and North America convince me that Emery's conclusion is sound. Very few statutory controls hamper the Stateside broadcaster. He is free to own and operate his own station as he sees fit, with wide latitude in programming choices as long as he operates in the interest of his listening/viewing public.

But in virtually every other country directed by a representative form of government, stations are owned and programmed either by a public corporation or by a governmental agency more restrictive than that in the United States. Even in England, as former Federal Communications Commissioner Nicholas Johnson points out, when the British Broadcasting Corporation was supplemented "with a commercial 'independent television service,' the new stations continued to be publicly owned."² At the other end of the spectrum, the government exercises full control, frequently even operating the electronic media. In the more extreme cases, close watch is maintained over all news and informational materials broadcast. In countries such as Uganda and Zambia, for example, the official government news agency carefully prepares the broadcast text for each newscast, and the station must read each item verbatim.

From written sources, Mexican broadcasters and other informants at this seminar, I gather that broadcaster controls in Mexico are somewhere between the above extremes. According to Emery, the Mexican government places considerable responsibility for program service on the shoulders of licensees. But at the same time, the government functions positively to assure respect for

¹Walter Emery, National and International Systems of Broadcasting; Their History, Operation and Control, East Lansing, Michigan State U. Press, 1969, page 11.

²Nicholas Johnson, "What the FCC Must Do," Columbia Journalism Review, Winter, 1969-70, page 28.

moral principles and to ensure that the electronic media serve as tools for cultural, educational, public health and other desirable social objectives. He indicates that broadcasts which corrupt the language, violate community mores, encourage antisocial behavior, belittle national heroes, offend religious beliefs or weaken national security are forbidden.³ Apparently rebroadcasts and materials coming from outside the country are precensored. Broadcasts which invade privacy are subject to censure.

Several sources indicate that the government regularly produces a weekly program for broadcast on all radio stations, but not television. In addition to originating its own public relations program, the national government apparently prepares and submits for broadcast all news about its own activities and plans. For obvious reasons, stations air such materials in the form in which they are received.

It appears that regulation of Mexican broadcasting is divided among several agencies of government, with at least the secretariats of the Departments of Communications and Transport, Education, Public Health and Welfare, and the Secretary to the Government actively participating. Each department has its own responsibilities in the regulation of broadcasts. The Department of Communications and Transport is charged with licensing broadcasters. Licenses are valid for a 30-year renewable period, with the licensee given favored consideration if his previous performance has been satisfactory. A National Council of Radio and Television attached to the Secretary of the Government and composed of members of each of the regulating departments plus an equal number of representatives from the broadcasting industry promotes and coordinates broadcasting, consults with the Federal Executive officials, enforces regulations, ensures that government-planned programming is broadcast and serves as an arbitration board. Broadcasters are free to appeal the decisions of the council to the Supreme Court of the land.

Apparently a loose-knit Association of Broadcasters exists but functions effectively only on occasion. Evidently this group was instrumental in 1969, however, in inducing the federal government to reduce its tax demands for one-fourth of the broadcasting stations' annual incomes to 12.5 percent. Subsequently, the government agreed to accept the equivalent in air time on a nonaccumulative basis. The implication of this agreement appears clear; however, any time it wishes, the government can commandeer up to one-eighth of any station's air time.

In the United States, the broadcaster is guaranteed freedom of speech by the First Amendment to the Constitution. However, certain historical events and technological developments have interceded to place additional controls on the industry. The first U.S. radio law, the Wireless Ship Act of 1910, covered only the use of radio as a lifesaving device at sea.⁴ But the rapid growth of private and public interest in broadcasting quickly gave rise to the Radio Act of 1912, which made it illegal to operate on any

³Emery, op. cit., Chapter Two.

⁴Frank J. Kahn (ed.), Documents of American Broadcasting, New York Meredith Corp., 1968, page 6.

frequency without a license issued by the Secretary of Commerce.⁵ Unfortunately, this act provided neither sufficient discretionary standards for effective control nor an adequate body to enforce the regulations.

Rapid growth of broadcasting led to chaos in the 1920s. Some stations operated on frequencies other than those assigned by the Secretary of Commerce. Others failed to broadcast at the assigned time of day. Some jacked up their power beyond prescribed limits. Still others operated with wider frequency sidebands than allowed. A few never bothered to apply for licenses. Since the act had placed no time limits on the validity of the license, broadcasters showed little inclination to comply with the rules. The situation soon became too complex for the Secretary of Commerce to manage. Soon complete chaos reigned, with several stations sometimes operating simultaneously on a single frequency. A Supreme Court decision described this preregulation period as "the cacophony of competing voices, none of which could be clearly and predictably heard."⁶

This mass led to pleas by radio manufacturers, broadcasters and the public for corrective action. The resultant Radio Act of 1927 made radio waves a public trust and licensed frequencies to broadcasters for a given period. Today, that licensing period is three years, although proposals for its extension have long been on the floor of Congress. The Act also established the principle that, in the event there were more applicants than frequencies, the newly established Federal Radio Commission was to favor those most likely to serve "the public interest, convenience and necessity"--a standard that still pertains today.⁷

Rapid expansion of the telecommunications media led Congress to enact the Communications Act of 1934, which, in effect, reiterated and expanded the principles established in the Radio Act of 1927. The newly formed seven-member Federal Communications Commission was put in charge of licensing. Section 326 of the 1934 legislation made it clear that no government official can restrain the broadcaster's freedom: "Nothing in this Act shall be understood or construed to give the Commission the power of censorship... and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated...which shall interfere with the right of free speech by radio communication."⁸ The act also provided all political candidates equal opportunities to use a station's air time. The rationale behind the act was that a multiplicity of individual broadcasters free from government restraint would provide variety and a wide range of information, opinion and discussion via the air waves.

Neither Congress nor the FCC has ever spelled out precisely how the broadcaster should serve the public interest. The 1934 act prevents the FCC from reviewing programs prior to broadcast but does give the FCC authority

⁵Ibid., p. 8.

⁶Millier Kriehbaum, Pressures on the Press, New York, Thomas Crowell Co., 1973, page 59.

⁷Kahn, Documents of American Broadcasting, page 35.

⁸Ibid., page 83.

and responsibility to establish minimal program criteria which presumably are in the public interest. In interpreting the act, the FCC has repeatedly recognized the necessity for a licensee to devote a reasonable amount of time for public service programming. The single trump card of control given the FCC was the power to grant, revoke or refuse to renew licenses. The basic threat of the act, however, was to establish the ascendancy of the public's right to be informed over the individual broadcaster's or government's prerogative to broadcast its own view.

In 1949, in the interests of fair competition of opposing views and to encourage editorializing on the electronic media, the FCC introduced its famous "Fairness Doctrine." The thought was that, if the stations would take sides on an issue, the opposition would be stimulated to reply. Although the station's facilities were to be used, the licensee had the right to refuse opposing views--as long as his total service would show that the station had presented all views in a fair and balanced manner. In 1969, in the famous "Red Lion" case, the Supreme Court extended the doctrine, on the basis that the air waves are public, in order to require a station to allow free-time rebuttal for personal attacks on individuals. Again, in the late 1960s, the federal courts held that the fairness doctrine could be applied to broadcast advertising. Throughout, the FCC has tried to establish a middle course, "aware that the price of free rebuttal could become high, but unwilling to allow the stifling of controversial and unconventional programs."⁹ In fact, throughout the intervening years, the FCC has been reluctant to control anything but blatant disregard of the public interest. Between 1934 and 1962, for example, the FCC refused to renew only nine licenses out of more than 50,000 requests.¹⁰ By the end of 1966, it had revoked only 16 licenses; most of those were due to technical violations or economic incapacities of the licensees. Citizens' groups, pushing for their own interests, have increased the pace of refusals slightly during the past five years.

Former Commissioner Nicholas Johnson has documented other forms of FCC inaction which indicate conspicuous absence of heavy-handed controls. In 1967, the FCC decided that the North Hampton Broadcasting Co. could still serve the public interest with 33 minutes of commercials per broadcast hour; in 1968, it approved a license for a station which proposed to program no news or public affairs whatsoever; in 1969, it permitted wholesale transfer of construction permits from one licensee to another without weighing programming implications.¹¹ In effect, the FCC seldom intrudes to control program content. Any broadcaster who can demonstrate a modest amount of public service activity has little to fear at license-renewal time. However, the possibility for the FCC to invoke its powers over programming always remains a distant threat on the horizon.

⁹Krieghbaum, op. cit., p. 68.

¹⁰Peter Sandman, David Rubin and David Sachsman, Media: An Introductory Analysis of American Mass Communications, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972, Page 195.

¹¹Johnson, op. cit., page 28f.

Up to the present, however, FCC controls have tended to be so lax that, on numerous occasions, it has taken action only when goaded by other governmental agencies, the broadcasting industry or the public. For example, the Department of Justice had to pressure the FCC to examine the proposed 1966 merger of ABC and ITT after the Commissioners had approved it without considering "fundamental questions of highest importance."¹² The Communications Subcommittee of the Senate--headed by Sen. John Pastore (Dem., R.I.) and under pressure from network and syndicate lobbyists--has kept the FCC alert to broadcaster freedom. At the moment, the Administration's Office of Telecommunications Policy keeps reminding the FCC of the need to provide for greater local broadcaster responsibility in programming. The Federal Trade Commission and the Justice Department's Antitrust Division constantly hold questions of control and trade practices before the commission and the broadcaster. In recent years, beginning with the case of WLBT in Jackson, Miss., citizen groups whose interests were not being well served have sought redress by applying to the FCC for licenses. Even the broadcasters themselves have suggested regulations more rigid than the FCC has been prepared to impose. In 1963, for example, the National Association of Broadcasters tried unsuccessfully to get the FCC to adopt its own more restrictive code, which allowed no more than 18 minutes out of an hour of radio time and 16 minutes of each hour of television time for advertising.

The foregoing makes plain that controls on the Stateside broadcaster are operative within a nexus of interacting "checks and balances" which includes interest groups from Congress, the Administration, Justice, the broadcasting industry, advertisers and the public itself. The checks have functioned for the preservation of broadcaster service in the public interest while simultaneously safeguarding for the broadcaster the basic right of free speech guaranteed by our Constitution. It remains true that the U.S. broadcaster lacks the full freedom from controls experienced by his newspaper publisher counterpart, and he must continue to press for unrestricted freedom. Meantime, this system of checks and balances does serve to keep controls at a minimum and does allow the extensive freedom that is characteristic of broadcasting in the United States.

¹²Elizabeth Brenner Drew, "Is the FCC Dead?" Atlantic, July, 1967, page 32.

PART 2

JOURNALISM EDUCATION AND RESEARCH IN THE AMERICAS

This section contains summaries of the oral presentations given in the panel discussion, "Journalism Education and Research in the Americas," moderated by Dr. Mary A. Gardner. Dr. Gardner, professor of journalism at Michigan State University, has extensive research and teaching experience in Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Honduras, Colombia and other Latin American countries and has published scholarly articles and monographs on the Latin American mass media. Her Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Minnesota became a book titled The Inter American Press Association: Its Fight for Freedom of the Press, 1926-1960. She holds B.A. and M.A. degrees from Ohio State University.

This section also contains the written paper presented by Prof. Leslie G. Moeller, University of Iowa, in this panel discussion.

Remarks by Jesus M. Cortina

Biographical note: Dr. Cortina is director of the Department of Communication at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico, D.F., a cosponsor of the seminar. He holds the Ph.D. from Michigan State University.

The following is a summary of Dr. Cortina's remarks, taken from the taped proceedings:

Dr. Cortina emphasized that contrary to what some people would like to think, Latin America is not a homogeneous continent but rather a highly heterogeneous continent with several cultural differences within the various nations. He noted that between 1960 and 1973 there was no change in the number of communication or journalism schools in some Latin American nations. But in some countries, there was a spectacular increase in the number of such schools, as high as 273% in some cases during those 13 years. Particularly striking was Brazil, where the number of schools rose from 8 to 43, an increase of more than 500%. He said there is not enough information on journalism schools in Latin America. Most of what is known comes through the efforts of the International Center of Higher Journalism Studies for Latin America (Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Periodismo para America Latina), or CIESPAL (in Quito, Ecuador). It has done most of the research on Latin American journalism schools, he said.

Dr. Cortina made the following points, based upon trends during the last 10 years—and from his personal experience and the work of CIESPAL:

--Journalism schools in Latin America started spontaneously with no set of predictable patterns. They began in departments of sociology, business administration, law, etc. The tendency today, however, is for journalism schools to be identified as such or as departments of communication.

--The courses offered by those schools in the beginning were based on the parent schools; for example, they were biased toward sociology, business administration or law, etc.

--Most schools started a study of only the print media. There was no research and little emphasis on other media.

--The courses today are independent of the parent school. They tend to emphasize communication and communication-related content. There is some emphasis on research and on media other than print.

--The tendency today is to have similar plans, admission policies, etc., among the various communication-journalism schools in Latin America. This is due mostly to efforts of Ciespal.

--The new problem, however, is that there are not enough qualified faculty members in the journalism-communication schools. They are branching today into the electronic media. Communication research is becoming highly attractive and prestigious.

--There used to be a uniform course content for all communication-journalism students, but today there is a tendency to become quite flexible and to use what might be called a credit system, where a student may structure his own program instead of having to take exactly the same courses as his fellow students.

--Students used to have the feeling of what they called the uselessness of what they learned in school, once they were out of school and on the job. They said they wanted a cookbook approach to the teaching of journalism and communication. They wanted to be taught what to do to solve a problem.

For the future, Dr. Cortina hoped that:

--The communication schools would have a consciousness of the needs of members of the social system where students will have to serve.

--That mass media organizations will be conscious of social needs of members of the social system they are supposed to serve.

--That it will be possible to do away with resentment of those with high jobs in the mass media who are self-made and who resent graduates of communication or journalism schools.

--That university graduates will become increasingly convinced that the bachelor's degree is only the beginning, not the termination, of their learning.

Remarks by Josep Rota

Biographical note: Dr. Rota is a faculty member in the Department of Communication at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico, D.F., cosponsor of the seminar. He holds the Ph.D. from Michigan State University.

The following is a summary of Dr. Rota's remarks, taken from the taped proceedings:

Dr. Rota described communication research in Mexico during the past 10 years. Most research has been commercial, conducted by advertising agencies or marketing research companies, he said, adding that unfortunately the results of those efforts are usually confidential. Most of the remaining research has been the bachelor's degree thesis, written at the end of a student's five-year program at a university. Most of these have been written at the Universidad Iberoamericana Department of Communication. Between 1967 and 1973, 43 such theses were written. Others have been done at the National University of Mexico (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, or UNAM) in the School of Journalism, the Institute of Communication Research and the Department of Sociology. Other than the theses, practically nothing has been accomplished, he said. One important effort, however, is the collection of articles that appeared in the Mexican journal of political science (Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas) in 1972, a collection of essays, not empirical research findings. Among the empirical studies, including the theses, the largest study, especially because of the amount of work, was done by the Faculty of Business Administration and Commerce at UNAM in collaboration with several other departments of business and commerce throughout Mexico. It is impressive because of its magnitude. The authors took a national sample of more than 27,000 persons, which Dr. Rota said appeared to be a needlessly large sample. The study was exploratory and descriptive; it had no formal hypotheses. The investigators explored communication behavior patterns among the audience in Mexico, various advertising messages, the image of various products, retention of information about various commercials, etc.

The mean tendency in frequency of written communication research in Mexico in the last 10 years is what might be called essays—philosophical, ideological or opinion pieces—without empirical bases. This is the largest number of publications that can be found about communication in Mexico. Of the empirical studies that can be found, the vast majority are exploratory, descriptive or both. It is difficult to find research efforts in which hypotheses are tested. Most of the empirical studies are content analyses. Several theses analyze newspapers; some examine other media, such as TV. There are several comparative analyses, such as testing the image of radio as opposed to TV, or the credibility of newspapers vs. TV. Several advertising studies examine penetration of messages, analyze the audience, or conduct some audience-segmentation research or some other type of study that could be called marketing or advertising oriented.

A few studies have more of a scientific approach, using hypotheses, but most of them have very practical goals. Most were done at the National School of Agriculture at Chapingo and could be grouped into the research tradition

of diffusion of innovation. Other than the Chapingo studies, and the few others cited, Dr. Rota said he could find practically no published studies of the more scientific type.

He predicted the establishment of more communication research centers in Mexico, which he said would probably lead to more empirical research being conducted. He mentioned the existing Institute of Communication Research at UNAM, part of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences. He also cited the research center being established in the UIA Department of Communication; plans are, he said, to conduct empirical research and offer the first graduate program in communication in Latin America.

He noted the present possibility of obtaining financial backing for communication research from several Mexican government agencies and from some commercial agencies, adding that such backing has been almost nonexistent previously. He predicted that more theoretical work would be done in the future.

Remarks by Alejandro Junco de la Vega

(See his biographical note in Part 1.)

The following is a summary of Mr. Junco's remarks, taken from the taped proceedings:

Mr. Junco spoke, for the most part, on the six-week basic journalism seminar established four years ago at the El Norte-El Sol daily newspapers owned by his family in Monterrey. He pointed to the great amount of advice and work in the seminar program contributed by Dr. Mary Gardner.

The rationale behind the seminars was to share professional journalists' knowledge with young persons, aged 18 to 25, just out of high school or in some kind of university training. Seminar participants study for six weeks each summer and obtain some basic journalistic skills and an opportunity to try the profession out. A number of seminar participants took jobs on the El Norte-El Sol newspapers; others went into radio, TV or other newspapers.

In the first year, 12 of 35 candidates were admitted to the six-week seminar. Weekly topics have been 1) the nature and definition of news, 2) journalistic style vs. narrative prose, 3) structure and types of news story leads and lead elements, 4) development and structure of the news story, 5) sources of news and 6) quotes and paraphrases. In 1973, more than 100 persons applied for the seminar; each year some 10 to 15 are selected. The program has been of great value for journalism in northern Mexico, Mr. Junco said. An advanced seminar for current employees of the Monterrey newspapers has been held also, for most journalists in the area have not had the opportunities for such training.

He added that apparently journalism has not been considered a worthwhile profession by many well-to-do persons in Northern Mexico and that most of the young persons who become seminar participants are from middle-class families. His experience with the seminars led to his current teaching position at the University of Monterrey in its journalism laboratory program, which he helped to establish.

Remarks by Joseph A. Taylor

Biographical note: Professor Taylor is associate professor of journalism and director of the Latin American communication program at the University of Texas at Austin. During 1956-62, he was a foreign correspondent for United Press International, with major assignments in Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Caracas and Havana. He has taught at the Universidade do Brasil and the Universidad Central de Venezuela. He holds the A.B. from William Jewell College and the M.S. from Kansas University.

The following is a summary of his remarks, taken from tapes of the proceedings:

Professor Taylor mentioned that the panel's title—"Journalism Education and Research in the Americas"—is correct but that "An Appreciation-of-Mary-Gardner-Day" should be added to it in order to recognize her efforts in both areas. He added that the work in the areas being carried out at the University of Texas at Austin stems from Dr. Gardner's earlier work there.

In the main, his remarks concerned communication research by Latin Americans in Latin America. He said his basic view of communication research in the United States is that it is a derivative area; it is at a crossroads of numerous disciplines, including psychology, sociology, political science and history. He said communication researchers in both North and South America, to their credit, have adapted and adopted what these other fields have brought, and they have added the journalistic input.

In Latin America, communication research is doubly derivative. Not only are Latin Americans doing what U.S. researchers are—looking to the parallel discipline—but they are also trying to keep in touch with the leadership which the United States, hopefully, is providing. Dr. Cortina, for example, brought back numerous ideas from Michigan State; the same is true for other students at other U.S. universities. A related problem, he said, is the uneven level and direction of journalism education in Latin America. Because of that, the problem of communication research is not being solved as adequately as it should be. Indeed, in some areas it is not even a major question, for often journalism education is a matter of theory and concept with very little having to do with the practical or applied side.

Professor Taylor said the problem of communication research in Latin America is troubled by four basic elements: 1) the infant state of the art itself, whether in the United States or in Latin America, 2) the weakness of journalism education programs in Latin America, 3) the fact that most research that has been conducted has been in the commercial area (advertising or marketing) and 4) an almost total lack of understanding on the part of news media directors of a) the types of communication research available, and b) the potential value of research. He noted that there are some outstanding exceptions to such news media executives and named Mr. O'Farrill, who spoke at the seminar the previous day, as one of them.

Professor Taylor said the four problems he mentioned are being solved but very slowly. Work by attentive publishers and journalism educators at institutions which take journalism seriously is being felt, he said, adding that in 10 years significant strides should have been made.

Most published communication research in Latin America is somewhat limited, he said. He declared that most research is published in Mexico and Brazil; at a secondary level, he placed Venezuela, Colombia, the Caribbean and Peru. In Peru, he said, advertising and marketing techniques are probably as advanced as anywhere in Latin America except Mexico and Brazil. He said little research is being conducted in the other Latin American nations. He told seminar participants that the field of communication research is wide open in Latin America and encouraged them to be active in the field and make a valuable contribution.

Research and Other Matters in Journalism Education

By Leslie G. Moeller

Biographical note: A respected authority on journalism in the United States, Dr. Moeller was for years director of the University of Iowa School of Journalism. He is now professor emeritus. Besides journalism education, his teaching and research interests include mass communications and society and the mass media and social change. He has lectured in several different countries, including Ecuador, at the Center for Higher Education in Journalism (CIESPAL) in Quito.

I shall begin by attempting to impersonate a composite executive in the mass media with this comment: "I am willing to train, and I realize I must train, beginners on my staff, but I prefer to train at a relatively advanced level. Accordingly, I hope that new staff members will have high competence in quality of language--grammar, spelling, punctuation, sentence structure and so on. I feel that schools of journalism should do as much as they can on this phase." I will add that I feel that both schools and media must work to raise the quality of training in language outside schools of journalism, so that schools and media may both build on good foundations.

I make these additional points, essentially reactions and additions to what earlier speakers have said:

1. The journalism educator needs professional mass media experience and also a knowledge of research methods of all types.

2. A good journalism teacher need not be an active researcher--but must be a sound scholar and a sympathetically critical user of the results of research.

3. In the future a good news worker must understand research procedures and be able to use them, creatively. The news processor will be working more and more with the products of research, such as polls and field surveys, which come from news sources, and must be competent to judge their adequacy. In addition, news workers will themselves be carrying out much more research in their own news-gathering activities. Accordingly, in journalism education we need hands-on experience in research for all students. The procedures set out by Philip Meyer in his book, Precision Journalism, provide an excellent foundation.

4. The mass media and journalism schools must be close, and mutually helpful, but not so close that they cannot be rationally critical of each other.

5. Journalism schools should actively encourage more media use of modern research methods.

6. Education for journalism is so important to society that the public must knowledgeably support it, and the media should work to build this public understanding and support.

7. More and more, the continuing education of journalists is becoming important. In many professions this is being done by rule, by compulsion, even by relicensing. In journalism, the effort must be voluntary. It is important that media executives realize this need, and cooperate. It is important that schools build or help to build adequate programs in two ways: a. professional competence in journalism, and b. competence for journalists in specific subject matter fields, e.g. energy, ecology, transportation taxation, government finance and so on.

8. Although the current trend in support, including that from the federal government, favors applied research, we need both basic and applied research. As a beginning, descriptive studies may be very useful and we should not downgrade them.

9. As for the content of journalism education: it is important that schools and media look ahead 10 years, 20 years, in a formal way, and attempt to predict the needs of the society for the product of the mass media, the resulting needs of the media and the resulting needs of the student. Schools should then carry out a reexamination of programs to determine what changes should be made. My own ideas include such areas as theory of organizations, modern formal planning procedures, group dynamics, small-group theory, decision theory, theory of games, conflict resolution, value engineering, processes of persuasion, systems analysis, operations research, electronic data-processing procedures, creativity and, of course, the major behavioral science research methods.

10. The mass media should give greater support for research by schools of journalism. This is needed to help students to get a feel for the methods of research and how research is used. This will result in better-educated staff members for the media, and better service to society. Amounts of support need not be large. The spirit of the support is more important than the amount, because media support will help to show students that research is important. Research activities such as the ANPA News Research Bulletins are much to be praised.

11. A key point on journalism education: A major purpose should be to give the student much experience in describing a problem in the acquiring of news, and then to give experience, in a variety of approaches, in stating alternative routes to solution, and choosing rationally among them. The purpose is to build an attitude which will help the student constantly to face such problems in the field and to work confidently and rationally toward self-guided approaches to solutions.

PART 3

ASPECTS OF CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH AND COMMUNICATION

In this section, three scholars consider some specific problems of communications research in an alien culture, discuss findings concerning foreign correspondents on a cross-national basis and delve into problems of communication among individuals from differing cultures.

The first presentation, "Special Problems Facing a Communications Researcher in Another Culture," is by Dr. Raymond B. Nixon. Dr. Nixon stresses the need for the communications researcher to "team up" with a counterpart who is both a member of the culture investigated and familiar with the goals and methodologies of the research project. In cross-cultural research, Dr. Nixon points out that "things are not what they seem" and the investigator may be easily deceived unless he receives expert help. Dr. Nixon also discusses some problems encountered specifically in Latin American research.

In the second presentation, Dr. Hamid Mowlana discusses "International News Communicators: A Cross-Cultural Analysis." He reports on his research on foreign correspondents in the United States, their distribution and representativeness, their sociological and political background, and their attitudinal dimensions which may affect their communicative behavior. Two distinct groups are identified: reporters, who represent mainly news agencies, broadcast stations and the press in the day-by-day account of events; and interpreters, who form the most elite group, representing mostly international prestige newspapers.

"The Contradiction of Cross-Cultural Communication" by Dr. L. John Martin is the third presentation. He looks at problems of communication both within a given culture and among individuals from differing cultures. He points out that even had humankind begun with totally different cultures and without any cultural universals, there has been such an amount of economic, political and social intercourse among people that they have perforce developed numerous common cultural traits. Within such areas, communication is "not cross-cultural but intra-cultural and relatively effective," Dr. Martin believes. And he says this is another way of saying there is no such thing as "cross-cultural communication."

Special Problems Facing a Communications

Researcher in Another Culture

By Raymond B. Nixon

Biographical note: Dr. Nixon is professor emeritus at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Minnesota. He received his bachelor's degree at Emory University, his master's at the University of Wisconsin and his Ph.D. at the University of Minnesota. He has a worldwide reputation as an expert on journalism education and on international communication research. In addition, he has had reporting and editing experience in newspapers and magazines. His teaching specialties include communication and public opinion, international communication, comparative foreign journalism, and journalism and foreign affairs. He has traveled in every Latin American country and has for many years been a friend to Latin America.

In October 1964, at its general assembly in Mexico City, the Inter American Press Association awarded special citations to the dailies O Estado de São Paulo and Jornal do Brasil for their roles in bringing on the Brazilian revolution of 1964. In that revolt, the constitutionally elected but leftist-inclined regime of President Joao Goulart was overthrown and military rule was established. In October 1973, at the IAPA assembly in Boston, the award-winning editor of O Estado was still decrying censorship of the press in Brazil, but this time by the very type of government that his own newspaper had helped to bring into power. The representative of Jornal do Brasil who had received a similar award in 1964 also attended the Boston meeting, but he was strangely silent; as executive vice president, he now seemed to represent primarily the business side of the paper.

Does this mean that O Estado is the more liberal and courageous of the two papers? Not necessarily. Both represent the elite and are basically conservative, with Jornal do Brasil once being the more progressive of the two; indeed, its former editor-in-chief, Alberto Dines, went to prison three times for defying censorship. But O Estado de São Paulo, published in Brazil's most prosperous industrial city, has more independent wealth behind it, while the smaller Jornal do Brasil in Rio has had to borrow money in recent years from the Banco do Brasil. One may draw his own conclusions as to why the Rio paper has acquiesced in the military's demand for self-censorship, while O Estado was not.

Let us look also at Santiago's prestige daily El Mercurio, which is owned by a family with extensive banking and business interests both in Chile and in the United States. In 1971, the managing editor of El Mercurio took the lead in persuading the Inter American Press Association to hold its 1972 general assembly in Santiago, so that members might see for themselves that the Chilean press still enjoyed "freedom" under the government of President Salvador Allende. One year later, at the IAPA meeting in Boston, this same editor was defending the violent overthrow of Allende and the far more rigid control of all the news media by a military junta on the grounds that these actions were necessary to "restore democracy" in Chile. His comments led an exiled Cuban editor to remark that "there are 21 governments in Latin America, and each one is trying to interpret 'democracy' in its own way."

An even more recent example is to be found in Mexico, which still boasts of having a free press. Here an agency of the federal government recently took over the García Valseca chain of 34 newspapers. The irony of this situation lies in the fact that the dominant wing of the present Mexican government is far more liberal than is Col. García Valseca. President Luis Echeverría has announced that the chain is up for sale to satisfy its debtors, but one can imagine that he and his liberal friends would be quite reluctant to let it fall into the hands of a group of conservative industrialists who might oppose his government's policies. So far, I am told, the editorial policies of the newspapers in the group have not been changed.

These three examples from a field in which I have done some of my own research remind us that in Latin America, as in the England of Gilbert and Sullivan's Pinafore, "Things are seldom what they seem; skimmed milk masquerades as cream." They also tend to support the contention that the greatest "special problem" facing a communication researcher in another culture is the one implied in the topic assigned to me: the very fact that we are dealing with a culture different from our own. Indeed, anyone who tackles problems in another culture with the assumption that the rules and values of his own society will work equally well elsewhere is doomed to disappointment, if not disaster. Moreover, in discussing the "Latin American culture," one should never forget that each country of the area differs from the others in many respects, as well as from the United States.

II

In preparing this paper, I reviewed much of the literature on cross-cultural communication research. I also consulted many of my colleagues and former graduate students at Minnesota who had done field work in other cultures. In almost every case, I found that these researchers agreed with me that differences in cultural concepts present an even greater problem to the American researcher abroad than do differences in language. A knowledge of the language involved is extremely important, of course, but the mere ability to translate literally can lead to serious misinterpretation if it is not accompanied by a comprehension of the culture from which it comes. Culture itself, as Hall and Whyte have written, is primarily a system of communication. No two systems are the same, even though the language may be.¹

One does not often have a Ph.D. advisee such as one of mine who did her dissertation on "Seven Papers Cover the 1960 United Nations General Assembly."² This was the assembly at which Premier Khrushchev pounded on the desk with one of his shoes--an act which was widely misinterpreted in the United States, as was his statement "We will bury you." But the student to whom I refer was born in Sweden, later moved to Austria and finally came to the United States to take graduate work while employed in an educational radio station. Knowing several languages and cultures quite well, she decided to test the hypothesis of Dr. George Gerbner that the Communist press is characterized by more "agreement and substantively oriented dimensions" than the "conflict and procedurally oriented dimensions" that Dr. Gerbner associated with the U.S. press. Dr. Gerbner, a native of Hungary, had advanced this hypothesis after doing a content analysis of the headlines on major news stories about the 1960 U.N. Assembly in Hungary's leading Communist newspaper, Nepszabadsag, and the New York Times.³

But Dr. Lotte Seidler, the author of the dissertation, content-analyzed the complete news stories as well as the headlines on these same events in seven dailies: two Communist (Izvestia and Neues Deutschland), two neutralist (The Hindu and Dagens Nyheter), and three Western (the Frankfurter Allgemeine, the London Times, and the New York Times). Her conclusions were quite different from those of Dr. Gerbner. She found that the news stories in the Communist papers did stress substantive issues more than those in the non-Communist papers, but not so much as the headlines did. With respect to agreement and conflict, the two Communist papers reversed themselves, using a higher percentage of conflict-oriented statements than either the two neutral or the three Western papers. National interests played the major part in determining the way each paper covered the events, as one might suspect.

Some of the cultural differences that a communication researcher from the United States faces in Latin America have been listed by Dr. Roy E. Carter Jr., who has spent almost as much of the last decade in Chile as in this country:

- 1) Absence of the "puritan tradition" that exists (or did exist, until quite recently) in the United States. (On the U.S. campus, the Committee on Faculty Exchange once faced the question of whether to provide funds to bring a South American scholar's mistress, as well as his wife and children, with him to this country.)
- 2) Presence of the "extended family" concept, which places a far greater obligation upon the Latin American to give employment to even a distant relative or friend of the family than we recognize in the United States. (Dr. Larry Day, in his research for a dissertation on "Efforts toward Professionalization of Latin American Journalists," found that a majority of the newsmen included in his survey had obtained their positions through relatives and friends, rather than through any objective test of their qualifications.)
- 3) The greater degree of political power exercised by university students, both off and on the campus, than usually is found in the United States.⁴ (This is related, in my opinion, to the fact that the majority of both students and faculty in most Latin American universities are only part-time. They usually spend more hours a day working in the city to make a living than they spend studying or teaching in the University.)

To these, anthropologist Edward T. Hall would add problems of The Silent Language—that is, the meaning conveyed in a particular culture without the use of space and time. Since the Latin American is accustomed to standing much closer to another person during conversation, Dr. Hall points out that someone from another culture may unintentionally offend a Latin American by drawing back. He also reminds us that it is not considered impolite to keep someone waiting an hour or longer for an appointment in a Latin American's office, whereas we in our culture tend to become irritated after a wait of only 10 or 15 minutes. Even when the North American finally gains access to the Latin American, he often finds it difficult to get around to the main point of his visit. The average Latin American simply enjoys social conversation, even under the pressure of time.⁵ For this reason, it is advisable for the researcher from another culture to allow twice as much time for appointments as we normally would do in the United States.

My colleague Dr. Carter also has observed that the Latin American's "time line from past through present into future" is much longer than ours.⁶ We see an example of this in the fact that Mexico even today will not grant citizenship to a full-time resident of the country who was born in Spain. And the newspaper El Excelsior, after reporting recently that a public opinion poll had shown Gov. Ronald Reagan of California to be the current favorite of U.S. Republicans as their next presidential candidate, reminded its readers that before 1848, California had been part of Mexico. An editorial cartoon portrayed a press conference during which a reporter had asked Dr. John Kenneth Galbraith, on a visit to Mexico City, if he did not think the United States should return California to Mexico. "Yes," twinkled the liberal Democrat from Harvard, "but on one condition: that along with California Mexico will take its governor." Galbraith was joking, of course, but the reporter may have been quite serious.

To the cultural differences already mentioned, I would add one more: what I call the problem of "muchas palabras." After attending many conferences in this part of the world, it seems to me that Latin Americans have more than the usual tendency to feel that a job is finished when written expression has been given to ideals through the adoption of a program or a set of resolutions. It may be that a Latin American attending one of our conventions in the United States would come away with the same impression; I do not know. But I do know that in any culture we must study actions as well as "many words" if we wish to understand the reality of a situation.

III

It is in interviewing and participant observation, the most common types of field research, that we literally come face to face with problems such as we have been discussing. As Dr. Hal Fisher points out in his chapter on "Interviewing Cross-Culturally" in Dr. Michael Prosser's excellent new book, Intercommunication among Nations and Peoples, interviewing in another culture is confounded by important variables in the interviewer and the interviewee, as well as in the culture. Even after one has succeeded in the difficult task of making questions formulated in one society culturally equivalent in another, he still must gain acceptance before he can carry out his interview or become a participant observer.

While one is trying to learn the culture as well as the language of the group which he wishes to study, a good solution is to team up with a competent scholar from that country whose knowledge of both your language and your methodology is sufficient to help you bridge the gap. But even in choosing another scholar who is a native of the country, one must use extreme care. If your prospective collaborator is from an upper economic or social class, as most well-educated persons in any developing country are likely to be, he may find it even more difficult than you to identify with a lower subculture of his own society.

Not all foreigners face the same kind and degree of difficulty in gaining acceptance in another culture; much depends upon the particular individual's personality and background, as well as upon his training. Dr. Mary Gardner was a "natural" to do her dissertation upon The History of the Inter American Press Association: she not only had lived and studied for a while in South America but had attended enough meetings of IAPA to be known and

accepted by most of the persons she was required to interview.⁸ Likewise, Dr. Larry Day, while serving in his earlier years as a missionary in Uruguay, was unknowingly preparing himself for his later Ph.D. research among Latin American journalists regarding their efforts toward professionalization. In fact, by the time he had worked later in the Buenos Aires office of the United Press International while on an IAPA scholarship, he was almost a Latin American "professional" himself.

Even journalist-scholars from another culture who have received graduate training in the United States may face problems when they return to their native country to do field research. For instance, Dr. Lakshmana Rao, although a native of the region in which he did participant observation for his Communication and Development: A Study of Two Indian Villages,¹⁰ found it necessary to discard some of his Western style of living before he could be accepted by the villagers. He also found it quite an advantage to have his mother along with him in order to interview the women in his sample. Dr. Shelton Gunaratne, a native Ceylonese who returned home to direct the interviewing for his dissertation on "Mass Media Information, Social Differentiation and Modernization: A Longitudinal Study of Four Ceylonese Villages,"¹¹ encountered still another type of problem. His interviewers went into the field only six months after the unsuccessful youth rebellion of 1971; this led to rumors that they were agents of the Criminal Investigation Department. It is not uncommon among people in any country unaccustomed to field research for a strange interviewer, even of the same race and nationality, to be suspected of being a government agent.

The Ceylonese rural custom of "listening in" to anyone's conversation with a stranger also resulted in some difficulties for Gunaratne, especially when the interviewer came to such sensitive questions as family income and birth control. And no matter what the subject matter, the fear of authority seemed to leave lingering suspicions. This was typified by the peasant who, after answering all the questions, remarked: "The questions appear to be harmless. But there must be something fishy about this."

In Latin America, as in most other developing areas, society is organized along much more authoritarian lines than in the United States. For that reason, before beginning field work, it usually is essential to obtain the approval of the "head man" in the particular group one wishes to study. In the study of Indian and Ecuadorean slums on which three Minnesota graduate students worked for their doctorates, we had to deal with two entirely different types of hierarchies. In New Delhi, India, the government recently had completed a census of all the slum areas, and each slum had a recognized "head man"; he was the one whose approval and cooperation had to be obtained. But in Guayaquil, Ecuador, there was no up-to-date census and no official "head man." Since the country is nearly 100% Catholic, it soon developed that the parish priest in a slum area was the one best qualified to convince the residents that they should answer the questions of our interviewers. Once the appropriate "head man" or priest had given the project his blessing, our interviewers were on their way.¹²

There are many other problems connected with cross-cultural interviewing. All of these are discussed by Dr. Fisher in the Prosser book and more fully, in many cases, by the authors cited in his bibliography. In a brief paper like this, the best advice I can give anyone interested is to obtain the book and study it carefully. But I would add my own words of caution on one

point: be especially wary of the interviewee who may be giving you simply the answer he thinks you want to hear. In some cultures, he may be the biggest problem of all.

IV

At the Wingspread Symposium on the Study of International Communication in 1969,¹³ much was said about the need for more data and for large sums of money required to carry out certain types of intercultural research. But of what value are more data—either qualitative or quantitative—unless we know how valid and how comparable they are? When one reads in an official report that the rate of illiteracy in a certain country is 38%, then learns upon his arrival there that it is closer to 80%, he begins to wonder. Statistics on per capita national income are difficult to compare, too, since countries may vary widely in the amount of social services provided by the government.¹⁴

In many of the less-developed countries, adequate facilities for gathering even the most elementary kinds of demographic data simply do not exist. Even where they do exist, there often is a hesitancy on the part of officials to make the statistics available to an outsider, especially if there is a feeling that their publication might reflect unfavorably upon the country. Some of the new computerized agencies like the Yale Political Data Program and the Latin American Data Bank at the University of Florida can be of great help to us, but we still have a long way to go. Much depends upon the development of better data-gathering and reporting agencies within each individual country. Meanwhile, the wise researcher will cross-check statistics with as many different sources as possible.

Although money for foreign travel and research is indeed more difficult to obtain than when Almond and Verba made their five-country study in 1959-60,¹⁵ there is still much that we in communication research can do, besides attending seminars like this one. The first thing, obviously, is to intensify our study of the history, language and culture of the country or area in which we wish to do our research. A second is to engage in analyzing data easily available in any first-class university library at little or no expense. One of the best cross-cultural studies I have seen is Hold and Turner's The Political Basis of Economic Development: it demonstrates clearly the value of comparative research for generating hypotheses, as well as for adding to the area of generalization. Yet these two authors worked almost entirely with data on the comparable periods of pre-industrialization in four countries for which records do exist: France (1600-1789), China (1644-1911), Japan (1603-1868) and England (1558-1780).¹⁶ It was this piece of research, which the authors did almost entirely on their own time, that helped them later to obtain the funds for the symposium that produced The Methodology of Comparative Research.¹⁷ Perhaps if we would take a tip from these two political scientists, we would be in a better position to obtain funds when conditions improve.

This brings me to a third way in which we can turn these "hard times" to our advantage. So far, we in communication research have been neither as innovative nor as productive in research methodology as we should be; the new Handbook of Communication,¹⁹ and its references to cross-cultural research methodology are limited mainly to a brief article written by Godwin Chu in 1964. The time has come for us to stop depending as much as we have upon the

methodology of other disciplines, relevant though they may be, and to develop methods more distinctly applicable to the problems of cross-cultural communication. That is one reason why I am excited over the forthcoming book by Dr. Alex Edelstein, of the University of Washington, based upon his cross-cultural research in Yugoslavia and the United States. An inkling of its contents is revealed by the title of his preliminary report: "Ideas in Search of Methodologies in International Communication."²⁰ I hope it will spur others to join in the search.

V

Finally, let us remember that each of us owes a special debt to any host country in which we do research. One of the most common complaints I have heard in Latin America, and particularly in Mexico, is that "You North Americans come down here, take up our time to help you with your research, and that is the last we ever hear of it." I am not the only one to recognize the justice of this complaint. Dr. Everett Rogers, who has dealt with more than 1,200 cross-cultural studies in three books culminating with the Communication of Innovations,²¹ also protests that researchers often mine data in a foreign country, publish the results in American journals or books and then fail to involve themselves in helping the host country, even when it needs and would welcome assistance. Certainly we have an obligation to inform the host country of our results, tentative and incomplete though they may be.

I believe we in international communication research have a special responsibility in meeting this problem, for we should be motivated not only by "the scholar's passion to be informed" but also by "the journalist's passion to inform others."²² We are living in a world that has become increasingly interdependent. Communication between the nations and the peoples of the world is increasing, too, and it will increase even more rapidly in the years ahead. Only through the application of research results that will improve human understanding, coupled with statesmanship of a high order, can we hope to move closer to the goals of peace and progress that peoples of all cultures so ardently desire.

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International News Communicators: A Cross-Cultural Analysis

By Hamid Mowlana

Biographical note: Dr. Mowlana is professor of communication and international relations at the American University, Washington, D.C., where he is also director of the program in international communication. He received his master's and Ph.D. in communication and political science at Northwestern. He has been a foreign correspondent, editor and author. He is working on a book on the psychological aspects of international politics and a book on comparative communication. He has been a faculty member or visiting scholar at the Universities of Tennessee, Chicago and Buenos Aires, and at Cambridge University and the College of Communication in Teheran, among others.

The periodic news and commentaries of the world as reported in the mass media are the most common source of information underlying our comprehension of international developments. Imagine the state of international politics without international news communication. Despite the fact that the mass media are universally criticized for being biased and inaccurate, newspapers, wire services and broadcasting organizations continue to provide most of the information received by individuals. Government officials and scholars--more than ordinary media consumers--make extensive use of daily reporting by the media. For example, unless the student of international politics is prepared to wait for extended periods of time until government papers and documents are declassified, he has no real alternative but to base his analysis of contemporary international relations on day-to-day reporting of events by the media. In fact, an approach that has been spreading throughout a major cross-section of U.S. scholars studying foreign policy and international systems is commonly called event-interaction analysis. Its purpose is to interpret interactions of national actors as determined by the collection and analysis of "events" recorded in the mass media.¹

In the flow of information and events across national boundaries--and among the many individuals who are involved in the gathering, transmitting and editing of so-called "world news"--the foreign correspondent plays an important role in the definition of situation. He is a surveyor, news-gatherer and interpreter, and most of all a potential gatekeeper. The idea of environmental surveillance is not new, but little research has been conducted into the foreign correspondent's role as surveyor, or into factors which direct and affect his behavior and ability as communicator.

In reviewing the literature dealing with the foreign correspondent, an intriguing imbalance comes to light. Most studies are directed toward journalists of a single country--the United States--who have been assigned abroad. Hohenberg's historical account of the time and life of well-known U.S. foreign correspondents,² Kruglak's³ and Maxwell's⁴ studies on American correspondents in Western Europe and elsewhere, Bogart's profile study of U.S. newsmen abroad,⁵ and Wilhelm's survey of American correspondents working around the world⁶ are examples of descriptive and biographical studies.

Other studies focus on roles of the foreign correspondent in the amount and quality of foreign news being transmitted. Adams' study of U.S. newspapers with and without their own foreign correspondents,⁷ McNelly's analysis of the role of journalists as intermediary communicator in the international flow of news,⁸ and Yu and Luter's essay describing the work of the foreign correspondent⁹ are illustrative. Then there are studies such as those of Manning,¹⁰ Reston¹¹ and Cohen,¹² who have examined the role of the press in general--and foreign affairs writers in particular--in the conduct and process of U.S. foreign policy.

In contrast, little research has been done on the foreign correspondent on a cross-national basis. Existing literature reveals only a few studies dealing with foreign correspondents reporting from the United States to their respective countries. Lambert's survey of foreign correspondents covering the United States in 1956¹³ is one of the few articles dealing with demographic and other biographical characteristics of foreign journalists. A similar but more extensive study on socioprofessional aspects of foreign correspondents stationed in the United States was done by Chung Woo Suh, a doctoral student at the University of Minnesota in 1970.¹⁴ Although there have been several journalistic writings on the subject recently, especially on the views of the foreign press corps of the United States,¹⁵ no systematic attempts have been made to study sociological and attitudinal dimensions of this group of international communicators cross-culturally.

Purpose and Method of Inquiry. The purposes of this study were (1) to survey the distribution and representativeness of foreign correspondents covering the United States by their respective countries, (2) to describe the sociological and political background of the modal foreign correspondent working from the United States, and (3) to show some attitudinal dimensions which might affect and direct his communicative behavior, and thus influence the content of his communication.

Survey analysis was used to investigate two different types of data. First, 31 measures were designed to portray sociopolitical characteristics of each foreign correspondent. The results of this analysis were sent to be used to (1) present a depiction of the modal foreign correspondent, and (2) facilitate comparative analysis among correspondents. The second phase, consisting of 25 measures, was designed to derive data on attitudes of foreign correspondents toward contemporary issues involving the United States and the international system. The rationale here was that it should be important to determine if there were patterns present in their attitudes that could account for certain attitudinal dimensions. The procedure used was factor analysis. The final step was to investigate relationships between the sociopolitical scale and the attitudinal measures.

While there was no single source that lists every foreign correspondent in the United States at a given point in time, the listings prepared by the United States Information Agency's Foreign Press Center was found to be the most inclusive, and therefore was used to select the sample.* Questionnaires were sent to 300 foreign correspondents, primarily those stationed in New York City and Washington, D.C. representing over one-third of the total number of correspondents in the listing (865 as of 1972). This number was sent to insure a sufficient return, 10% of the total number of correspondents in the listing.

The 103 respondents were all full-time correspondents and thus were more than adequate to justify a claim of an accurate sampling of this population. While not every nation is represented, the distribution was checked against the directory; we do feel that the sample is geographically representative of the foreign press corps' base countries. The sample was composed of individuals from Western Europe and Scandinavia (54), Asia (23), Central and South America (8), Canada (6), Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (6), Middle East (4), and Australia and New Zealand (2).

National Diversity of Correspondents. Although the number of correspondents stationed in the United States has increased from a modest 300 in 1956 to an all-time high of almost 900 in 1974, this upsurge of foreign journalists and media communicators has not led to a better diversification of international media representation in Washington and New York. For example, the foreign press corps in Washington includes no correspondents from black Africa. Israel is represented by 23 correspondents in New York and Washington, while the Arab countries of the Middle East have only 13 full-time and part-time journalists, including the Egyptian press with only three representatives. Nationalist China has more registered correspondents (23) in the United States than either India (10) or Pakistan (1). Of course, there is yet no correspondent in the United States from the People's Republic of China. And while there is a total of 43 correspondents from the Canadian media in both Washington and New York, there are only eight journalists from Mexico. With the exceptions of Argentina and Brazil, few Latin American countries maintain any press representative whatsoever in the United States.

By contrast, we can note several structural features of the geographical diversity of correspondents from Western Europe and Japan (see Table 2). First, there is a large concentration of British, German and Japanese correspondents in Washington and New York. (In 1972, Japanese journalists made up the largest national group in Washington, with a delegation of about 36; the next largest was West Germany, with 25 Washington-based correspondents). Western Europe accounts for more than 10% of all the foreign correspondents covering the United States (see Table 1). Second, there are relatively few correspondents from Latin America, the Middle East or Asia. Third, there is the total absence of correspondents from several countries and regions, including Communist China, for reasons of government policy at both ends, or economic and financial considerations. Interestingly, as the survey of U.S. correspondents overseas shows, there is a parallel between the countries having foreign correspondents in the United States and the geographical distribution and concentration of the American journalists overseas. For example, one study places the proportion of American foreign correspondents located in Western Europe at about 50% of all full-time U.S. correspondents overseas.¹⁶

*There are two Foreign Press Centers funded and operated by USIA, with offices in New York City and Washington, D.C. The purpose of the centers is to assist resident and visiting foreign correspondents in covering the American scene. The centers' address book, prepared annually, lists foreign media personnel registered with the centers, including both full-time press and radio-TV representatives and other writers and journalists working in the United States on a part-time or "stringer" basis.

Table 1

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS STATIONED IN U.S.

Region	Number of countries	Number of media organizations	Number of correspondents
Western Europe	18	285	465
Asia	11	78	132
Latin America	21	66	77
Middle East	9	44	53
Eastern Europe and USSR	7	33	46
Canada	1	21	42
Australia & New Zealand	2	10	33
World-Wide	-	7	9
Africa	4	6	8
Total	73	550	865

Table 2

COUNTRIES WITH THE LARGEST NUMBER OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

Country	Number of correspondents representing		Total
	Radio/TV & Photo-Film	Press/News Agency	
Great Britain	11	91	102
West Germany	30	68	98
Japan	30	52	82
France	13	59	72
Italy	8	48	56
Canada	16	27	43
Australia	7	26	33
Switzerland	3	23	26
Soviet Union	2	24	26
Spain	5	21	26
Nationalist China	3	20	23
Israel	3	20	23
Sweden	6	17	23
Netherlands	6	11	17
Turkey	2	14	16
Argentina	3	11	14
Brazil	1	10	11
Denmark	2	9	11
Norway	1	10	11
India	-	10	10

That the flow of news and information between nations is governed by certain basic realities of technology and wealth cannot be denied. What is important from our point of view are the patterns of concentration and of omission that seem to have a bearing on the volume and direction of news from the United States to the rest of the world. It is true, for example, that the four or five major world news agencies are owned by the United States and a few countries of Western Europe. This situation poses a problem so far as the comparative and less ethnocentric treatment of issues is concerned: that many countries around the world are getting a fixed, culture-bound treatment of news and events about the United States and the world.

Socio-Political Characteristics. The observation that there is no such being as a "regular" foreign correspondent raises theoretical implications central to any analysis of the correspondent's role in the international communication process. This becomes more clear when we examine the foreign correspondent cross-nationally. The fact is seen clearly when one considers that no two perceptual frameworks are ever the same, that no two reporters are ever alike and that no two cultures ever perceive a third culture through the same perceptual framework. The foreign correspondent as an intercultural communicator is a human filter acting not only under external limitations placed upon him by his environment, but also under the experiences of a lifetime which have molded his unique perceptual framework.

As most of our respondents commented, being a foreign correspondent holds a specialized role of "explaining one country to another"--a very important role but perhaps less satisfying than explaining a country to itself. For example, Peter Jenkins of the Manchester Guardian admitted that he knows things about English politics which he shall never hope to comprehend to an equal degree about American politics; being English, he has a frame of reference for U.S. domestic politics that is alien to our culture. And as Jan Reifenberg of Frankfurter Allgemeine told us: "When you comment, you must try to put it in the American perspective and balance your judgment and present it in a way that makes sense to the other side." Both journalists have reported the American presidential election and the Watergate affair to their respective newspapers.

If one can infer from our sample that the journalists and reporters covering the United States (despite their distinct individual characteristics) are brethren, then it would seem quite plausible that this multinational group of communicators does form a kind of international elite group whose characteristics are determined as much by professional culture as by nationality.

Results of the sociopolitical section of the survey indicate that the typical foreign correspondent working in the United States entered journalism for a serious reason such as "social duty or obligation," or politics and an interest in public affairs. He has been a journalist for about 12 years and worked for three to four different newspapers and news services. The seniority of the correspondents assigned to the United States is further evident in that about 20% of the respondents have had between 15 and 20 years of media experiences, with an additional 10% having 20 to 25 years.

Slightly under two-thirds reported their last principal assignment before coming to New York or Washington as Western Europe, but their foreign

assignments indicated a variety of exposure. They served in Western Europe (62), Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (10), Central America (17), South America (13), the Middle East (19), North Africa (10), Sub-Saharan Africa (9), South and Southeast Asia (18), East Asia and China (15) and Oceania and Arctic Regions (7). They averaged three to four years on assignment in Washington or New York. However, the correspondents of the more prestigious and elite-oriented newspapers or media organizations tended to stay considerably longer in the United States. For example, Werner Imhoof of the Swiss newspaper Neue Zurcher Zeitung has been in Washington for nearly 30 years, Adalbert de Segonzac of France Soir since 1956 and Edmund Lachman of the Dutch N.R.C. Handelsblad since 1950.

The respondents polled indicated that they file between five and seven stories per week, with the largest single area mentioned being "general coverage." About 15% concentrate on political commentaries alone, with 5% working on economic and financial beats and only 2% specializing in the arts and sciences. They spend an average of 10 months a year in Washington or New York but visit about half of the major geographical areas in the U.S. annually. Getting out of Washington or New York often is difficult unless there is a moon shot in Florida or a controversial trial on the West Coast. Few correspondents have real contact with midwestern America, and still fewer venture into the South or the Pacific Northwest, for the obstacles are many. Among them are time pressure and the cost of covering the continent, but perhaps most of all the very nature of American politics and the political system. From the viewpoint of the respondents, few American politicians or state bureaucrats are interested in inviting or talking to a foreign journalist.

In terms of editorial pressure, about 6 of every 10 correspondents were aware of particular editorial policies held by their superiors or publishers, but reported that they were only occasionally-to-never influenced ($\bar{x}=2.5$)*. Feelings that their stories were suppressed by their superiors ($\bar{x}=2.6$)* or the U.S. government ($\bar{x}=2.9$)* were even less evident (Table 3).

Judging from the correspondents' educational background and political beliefs, one should find the foreign press corps in the United States a highly liberal, extremely well-educated and socially unorthodox group. For the respondents, the average years in college were slightly over four, with about half holding advanced degrees. Thirteen percent of the correspondents had earned a doctorate. Most took their first degrees in political science, economics or other branches of the liberal arts. Only 10% earned degrees in journalism or communication. They had studied an average of almost three languages.

These correspondents tend to come from homes where parents were in managerial or professional occupations. They reported that they are politically more liberal, and religiously slightly more liberal than their parents. The correspondents describe their own political beliefs as liberal-to-strongly liberal, with about one-in-five being a member of a political party (Tables 3 and 4).

*Three scored often = 1; occasionally = 2; never = 3.

Table 3

PERCEIVED CONTROL OF COMMUNICATION CONTENT

	Number of respondents (N = 103)		
	Yes	No	No Answer
Are you aware of particular editorial policies held by your publisher?	59	44	-
Have you slanted stories to agree with such policies?	34	55	14
Do you feel you have ever had a story suppressed because it disagreed with the policies of your superior?	31	65	3
Have you experienced any pressure, censorship or interference from the United States government?	12	90	1
Are you currently a political party member?	20	83	-

Table 4

POLITICAL BELIEFS OF THE CORRESPONDENTS

Scales given to correspondents	Number of correspondents (N = 103)
Marxist-Communist	2
Marxist-Socialist	3
Strongly liberal	28
Liberal	39
Moderate/middle-of-the-road	14
Conservative	9
Strongly conservative	1
Others	6
Do not know	1
Total	<u>103</u>

Contact among colleagues tends to be the main pattern of interpersonal and group communication for foreign correspondents. About one-half the correspondents reported that their best friends were in job-related fields (i.e., a reporter or a professional source). Only 7% reported having an American reporter as their best friend and contact. Nationality and language play an important role in this process. For example, Japanese correspondents tend to be more clanish than do Europeans. Since they are reluctant to ask questions at press conferences, the Japanese correspondents constantly consult each other about their understanding of briefing sessions and news events.

Analysis of Attitudinal Measures. A factor analysis was computed on the 25 attitude measures in order to isolate the major dimensions explaining the opinions of the correspondents. A principal axis solution was computed using the maximum column correlations to estimate the communalities. (This was done to account for missing data.) Six factors were selected on the basis of their eigenvalues (4.83; 1.71; 1.23; 1.08; 0.76; 0.56), and this accounted for 100.7% of the trace. These factors were rotated using an orthogonal varimax transformation, and results were found to meet the criteria of simple structure adequately. Final results with factor loadings greater than 0.30 are shown in Table 5.

International Political Dimension. This first dimension contains a concept that questions the use of force to maintain commitments. The focus is one of U.S. foreign policy heavily relying on the use of force in Southeast Asia. A general theme centers on the value of military and economic forces in determining U.S. policies. This dimension probably is also salient to the argument that in the United States there are those who consider themselves staunchly "anti-communist," versus those who feel the need to reduce the stress of the Cold War and minimize U.S. intervention in foreign countries.

Societal Images Dimension. The second dimension is essentially a domestic construct. The highest loading is on the supremacy of the two-party system in the U.S. There also is a strongly racial orientation, with three measures directly related to integration and the South. Furthermore, the implication of increased rapport with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe also might be a concern, centering upon treatment of Jews in that region.

Economic Policy Dimension. Since this third dimension is purely an economic factor, only attitudes toward recent U.S. economic behavior are represented. These attitudes show the correspondents' approval or disapproval of U.S. influence both at home and abroad.

Ethnocentric Dimension. While this fourth dimension reflects the view of the U.S. as a land of good education and equal opportunity, it likewise represents the ethnocentric nature of the correspondents in their responses.

Influence Dimensions. The fifth dimension is a doublet, which reflects the concept in which the U.S. employs "standard means" (i.e., the United Nations or U.S. foreign aid) to influence the behavior of other countries. This concept is independent of the use of economic and/or military force, which is reflected in other dimensions.

Table 5

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES

FACTOR I - International Political Dimension

<u>Mean**</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Varimax Loading***</u>	<u>Measure</u>
2.38	1.45	.72	Military considerations play too great a role in formulating U.S. policies
2.43	1.68	.71	The U.S. should begin immediate troop withdrawals from Vietnam
3.74	1.69	-.65	The U.S. is obligated to maintain and protect an independent Thailand
3.41	1.77	.63	Development of an ABM System increases the chances of war
2.05	1.41	.62	The U.S. should extend diplomatic recognition to the P.R.C.
4.86	1.69	-.59	Unrestricted bombing of North Vietnam would have ended the war quickly
3.40	1.70	-.58	Use of police is justified against student demonstrators
3.49	1.53	.57	U.S. business and economic interests overseas constitute threats to the well-being and sovereignty of nations
1.81	0.90	.48	The U.S. should continue to build bridges to the U.S.S.R. & Eastern Europe

FACTOR II - Societal Images Dimension

3.51	1.53	-.65	The U.S. two-party system has proven itself best
2.18	1.15	.45	The U.S. Supreme Court has taken the lead in extending civil liberties in the U.S.
2.25	1.10	.39	Most Southern states still actively resist integration
1.81	0.90	.38	The U.S. should continue to build bridges to U.S.S.R. & Eastern Europe
2.39	1.08	.38	The 1968 elections showed that there are strong regional differences in the U.S.

Table 5 (Continued)

FACTOR III - Economic Policy Dimension

3.04	1.43	.68	Little progress is being made in combating poverty in the U.S.
2.06	0.99	.65	Little progress is being made in solving urban problems in the U.S.
3.49	1.53	.35	The U.S. business and economic interests overseas constitute threats to the well-being and sovereignty of nations
2.08	1.08	.30	The U.S. society is materialistic

FACTOR IV - Ethnocentric Dimension

4.28	1.37	-.62	The U.S. has the world's best education systems
4.62	1.30	-.54	The U.S. is basically a classless society
2.05	1.41	.39	The U.S. should extend diplomatic recognition to the P.R.C.
1.81	0.90	.36	The U.S. should continue to build bridges to the U.S.S.R. & Eastern Europe
2.08	1.08	.35	The U.S. society is materialistic
3.51	1.51	-.32	The U.S. two-party system has proven itself the best

FACTOR V - Influence Dimension

3.63	1.67	.60	The United Nations has been a failure
2.11	1.54	-.36	The U.S. foreign aid contributions should be substantially increased

FACTOR VI - Third World Dimensions

2.96	1.74	.57	Agreement among the big powers is the only way to insure peace in the M.E.
2.52	1.27	.50	The U.S. should remove all trade barriers and preferential treatment to developing countries
2.81	1.43	-.36	There is widespread disrespect of legal authority in the U.S.
2.71	1.73	.36	Territory seized in June 1967 M.E. war should be returned

*All factor loadings greater than .30 are included in this table

**All items were scaled: 1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = slightly agree; 4 = slightly disagree; 5 = disagree; 6 = strongly disagree

***A "positive" loading shows that those at the + end of the dimension disagree with the measure. Conversely, a "negative" loading shows that those at the + end tend to agree with the measure.

Third World Dimension. The sixth dimension contains both domestic and foreign concerns. It solicits attitudes of the correspondents on U.S. involvement in crisis and development in the Third World.

Comparison of Socio-Political Data and Attitudinal Dimensions. The final procedure in the study was to investigate the relationships between the sociopolitical data and the attitudinal dimensions. This was accomplished by first computing six dimension scores for each of the 103 foreign correspondents. Each attitude measure score was standardized and weighted by its factor loading for measures with an absolute value of 0.30. Simple correlations were computed between the dimension scores derived through this process and the sociopolitical measures.

In terms of the sociopolitical measures, correspondents with high scores on the international political dimension tend to be those with more experience but with less formal education. Politically, they tend to be comparatively conservative. They identify more strongly with their home country, have a best friend who speaks their mother tongue and tend not to be multilingual.

The second dimension, societal images, represents correspondents who can be categorized as more socially conscious. They consider racial problems to be still severe. They have entered journalism for "serious" reasons (i.e.-social duty), and they are the ones who have spent a longer period of time in the United States.

The economic policy dimension finds as the high-scoring correspondents those who see the recent behavior of the U.S. in economic issues as a "positive influence both at home and abroad." The correspondents are evenly divided on whether U.S. business and economic interests overseas constitute a threat to the well-being and sovereignty of many nations. These correspondents, who view U.S. economic and domestic urban policies favorably and do not see such economic policies as endangering the sovereignty of other nations, tend to have more seniority in their work, are mostly from English-speaking countries and tend to be more conservative in their political orientation.

On the ethnocentric dimension, those tending to agree that the U.S. is a land of good education and equal opportunity were the correspondents who have been on assignment in the U.S. for a shorter period of time than has been the average correspondent. They tend also to be more aware of particular editorial policies held by their publishers, and have tended to slant their stories to agree with such policies more than has the average correspondent. Those holding this view tend to have a bachelor's degree rather than an advanced degree. Finally, they attend religious services more frequently, go to their home country less frequently and tend to be married.

The doublet dimension, influence, seems to be independent of sociopolitical factors, except that those who see these influential forces of the U.S. as a value tend to be members of political parties. This may imply that the dimension reflects a belief in the value of "negotiated-type" solutions for international problems.

The final dimension, Third World, depicts those with high scores as advocating the abdication of the U.S. role as a foreign interventionist, in favor of her attending to the widespread problems of disrespect for legal authority at home. Those supporting this contention tend to have entered journalism for serious reasons and have worked for a higher-than-average number of different newspapers.

Observations. The study makes the following observations:

1. The flow of news and commentaries by foreign correspondents from the United States to the rest of the world is dominated by the Western European countries and Japan. There is similarity between the geographical distribution of U.S. journalists abroad and the national diversities and geographical breakdowns (representativeness of nations) of foreign correspondents stationed in the United States; hence the uneven flow of news and information around the world.

2. The growth of television as an important source of international news appears to be reflected in the increased number of television correspondents among the foreign press corps.

3. Sociocultural and linguistic variables play an important role in communicative behavior of the foreign correspondent as they affect his or her role in transmitting information across national boundaries.

4. Foreign correspondents in the United States are a rather cohesive group; they tend to be liberal, highly cosmopolitan and internationalists. Yet, many subgroups exist among them, based on certain national and regional awareness.

5. Interpersonal and group communication among the foreign correspondents, as professional colleagues, tend to play an important role in the evaluation and transmission of news. At times, this seems to be more important than the relation each correspondent has with the indigenous environment.

6. Although the professional cult is a strong element in the organization of the foreign correspondent community as a group, it is difficult to consider the foreign correspondent corps as a homogeneous population and, indeed, difficult to identify a typical foreign correspondent.

7. In general, one can identify two distinct groups of communicators among foreign journalists in the U.S.: Reporters who represent mostly news agencies, broadcast stations and the press in the day-by-day account of events. Interpreters who form the elite group of correspondents representing mostly international prestige newspapers whose major interest, or only task, is in the production of "commentaries" on events—rather than the events themselves.

8. The foreign correspondents tend to view the international system with an assumptive framework derived from functionalist and global society model rather than from nationalist model or ideology. The cognitive and affective dominance of the functional international system in the minds of the correspondents (UN and international organization, promoting integration through trade and transnational activities) makes for a broad conception of the structure of international system.

Notes

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1. For a more complete understanding of event-interaction analysis, see, Edward E. Azar, "Analysis of International Events," Peace Research Review, Vol. 4 (November, 1970); and Charles A. McClelland, "Some Effects on Theory from the International Event Analysis Movement," Sage Professional Papers in International Studies, Vol. 1 (Fall, 1972) pp. 15-43. I have discussed the mass media and the problems of validity in event-interaction research in two papers: "Event Data and Event Analysis," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, California, September, 1971; and "A Paradigm for Source Analysis in Events Data Research: Mass Media and the Problems of Validity," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, New York City, March, 1973.

2. John Hohenberg, Foreign Correspondence: The Great Reporters and Their Times, New York: Columbia University Press, 1965.

3. Theodore E. Kruglack, The Foreign Correspondents: A Study of the Men and Women Reporting for the American Information Media in Western Europe, Geneva: Librairie E. Croz, 1955.

4. John William Maxwell, The Foreign Correspondent: His Problem in Covering the News Abroad, Iowa City: State University of Iowa, 1954; and The Foreign Correspondents: A Social and Functional Analysis, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1956. See also his "U.S. Correspondents Abroad," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 33 (Summer 1956).

5. Leo Bogart, "The Overseas Newsman: A 1967 Profile Study," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 45 (Summer 1968) pp. 293-306.

6. John Wilheom, "The Re-appearing Foreign Correspondent: A World Survey," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 40 (Spring 1963), pp. 147-168.

7. John B. Adams, "What the Foreign Correspondent Does for a Newspaper's Readers," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 43, (Summer 1966), pp. 300-304.

8. John McNelly, "Intermediary Communicators in the International Flow of News," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 36, (Spring 1959), pp. 23-26.

9. Frederick C.T. Yu and John Luter, "The Foreign Correspondent and His Work," Columbia Journalism Review, Vol. 3 (Spring 1964), pp. 5-12.

10. Robert Manning, "International News Media," in Arthur S. Hoffman, ed., International Communication and the New Diplomacy, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1968.

11. James Reston, The Artillery of the Press: Its Influence on American Foreign Policy, New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

12. Bernard C. Cohen, The Press and Foreign Policy, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963. See also his "Mass Communication and Foreign Policy," in James N. Rosenau, ed., Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy, New York: The Free Press, 1967.

13. Donald A. Lambert, "Foreign Correspondents Covering the United States," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 33 (Summer 1956), pp. 349-356.

14. Chung Woo Suh, "The Socio-Professional Aspects of Foreign Correspondence in the United States: A Study of International Communication," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1971.

15. See Ronald Rubin, "The U.S. Correspondent," Western Political Quarterly, Vol. 17 (December 1964), pp. 615-531. Also Bob Warner, "The Foreign Press in U.S.A.," Editor & Publisher (May 28, 1960); and Thomas B. Littlewood, "Exploring the Mysterious West, or How the Foreign Press Corps Sees America," Saturday Review (April 15, 1972).

16. John Wilhelm, "The Re-appearing Foreign Correspondent: A World Survey."

The Contradiction of Cross-Cultural Communication

By L. John Martin

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The Nature of Communication. Communication has been defined in a variety of ways, and the list of qualities and capabilities attributed to it is necessarily a function of the particular definition subscribed to. Among the most common uses of the term is the definition that equates communication with "encoding"--written or oral: "Written communication is not a perfect means of communication....But it is the fastest reliable means when large groups of people are concerned" (Vance 1966, p. 282). A related definition is "the transmission of a message," as in "One may favor uninhibited communication of government business to 'the people' through the media" (Bobrow 1973-1974, p. 551). Then there is the definition that implies the two-way exchange of messages: "The communication between the farmer and his labourers on agricultural innovations can be an important topic for research" (Van den Ban 1973, p. 389); or "When an American of Mexican origin talks with a fellow American of Japanese ancestry...the type of communication that takes place is interethnic communication" (Sitaram 1972, p. 22).

Theoretical definitions are concerned less with the process than with the effect of communication. They speak of communication as an interactive process, a give-and-take, the transmission of a message with feedback: "it is on-going, dynamic, without starting and stopping points" (Berlo 1960, p. 106).^{*} A unidirectional, though theoretical, definition is that of Gerald R. Miller: "In the main, communication has as its central interest those behavioral situations in which a source transmits a message to a receiver(s) with conscious intent to affect the latter's behaviors" (1966, p. 92). This is a hypodermic definition that concentrates on the effect or outcome of the process from the viewpoint of the communicator. It involves a purposive act by a communicator, and it implies that the purpose is persuasion. Some have defined communication as a purposive act that has some effect on an audience, although the effect may be merely to alert the audience to the presence of the communicator (See Herb and Thompson 1968, pp. 738-9).

^{*}Yet Berlo also relapses to more prosaic, strictly process-oriented definitions, as when he says: "There is research evidence to indicate that the average American spends about 70 percent of his active hours communicating verbally--listening, speaking, reading and writing, in that order." *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Other theoretical definitions, while they concentrate on the effect of the process, do so from the point of view of the receiver or audience. Communication in terms of these definitions may be either intentional or unintentional, since what matters is not what is transmitted and by whom, but what is received and how. Lee Thayer speaks of a "more advantageous view of communication as something which occurs in the receiver" (1968, p. 39). George Gerbner says that "we are inquiring into a communication act which has consequences. To reduce the range of observation to those acts, aspects or consequences which may have been 'intended' as parts of a conscious communication effort is to place blinders on the researcher" (1966, p. 101).

Finally, there are theoretical definitions that ignore the dynamics of the process, the initiator or the assignee, the medium or the message, and limit communication to the "sharing of elements of behavior, or modes of life, by the existence of sets of rules" (Cherry 1957, p. 6). Charles Morris defines communication as the establishment of "a commonage or signification" through the use of signs (1946, p. 118).

The present discussion is concerned with this last definition. Communication is viewed as an event--which the dictionary defines as a happening, outcome or result--and the event is the successful sharing of meaning by two or more individuals--an "isomorphism in construct" I shall call it later. Communication is not any act that precedes this sharing, such as talking, writing, symboling, transmitting, encoding; or any act that may follow these activities, such as listening, reading, receiving, decoding. Nor is communication a consequent of the sharing, such as activities referred to as feedback, reaction, ego-defensive or tension-reducing behavior, information-seeking and so forth. Communication is no more and no less than the coincidence of constructs (to be defined below). Everything else has some other name.

Why define communication so narrowly? For the same reason that we avoid asking two-part questions in survey questionnaires when we expect a single answer. Ambiguity in the question merely leads to ambiguity in the response. To say that there are barriers to cross-cultural communication, when by communication we mean any or all of the following activities--encoding, transmitting, receiving, consummating, decoding, influencing and reacting--is to be guilty of very fuzzy thinking. There may be barriers to one or more of these activities and not to others, but who knows which activities the speaker has in mind, or the listener for that matter?

The Communication Process. In their excellent model of the communication process, Bruce Westley and Malcolm MacLean show that in addition to the sender, receiver, channel and message, there also are certain "objects of orientation" (1957), without which no communication can occur, since there would be nothing to talk about.* These objects or events in the world outside of the mind of an individual are the stimuli that imprint and trigger an ideational storage system. How this happens is central to the feasibility of communication, including cross-cultural communication, which is merely a special case of communication.

*I do not consider this or any of the other so-called information or communication process models communication models since they do not depict what I term communication but rather the transmission or reception of symbols or information. These, too are important activities, however, and I find the models useful.

Referents: The stimuli or objects of orientation are the referents of a person's physical and spiritual environment. They are the things about which he attempts to communicate, and they may be concrete objects such as trees, tables and people or concepts and attributes such as intelligence, beauty and redness. Referents are culturally defined. The determination of what constitutes a particular referent in terms of size, color, texture, location, appearance, function, number and variety of attributes and so forth is arbitrary and follows the rules of a culture. Thus where one color begins and ends is not the same in all cultures, as Brown and Lenneberg have demonstrated (1954, pp. 454-462). In Chinese, fruit and nuts are a single concept. Eskimos don't consider snow or seals as a single referent but a number of different ones.

Referents are rarely objects-in-isolation: they are almost invariably objects-in-situations, and generally an individual experiences them not as an object-in-being but as an object-in-action. While man has the unique ability among animals of thinking of an object in the abstract, divorced from its situation and action, he must speedily record the abstraction before it assimilates situation and action tendencies. To illustrate, it is hard to think of a "boy" in abstraction without locating him in a given time and place, doing something, if only standing or sitting. This fact is important in cross-cultural communication, because even if the referent is familiar in abstraction, for communication to occur it must also be familiar in a given situation and action. This is immediately evident if we think of the sentence, "The man flies." A Pacific islander who has never seen an airplane is familiar with each of the referents in other contexts but would fail to understand the message.

Wars have been fought and people killed over classifications and definitions of referents. Definitions of race, for example—who is a black or a Jew—have led to lynchings and genocide.

Constructs: Throughout life, a person comes into contact with many different versions of a referent, no two of which are identical. No two apples are alike, no two petunias, to say nothing of flowers. Referents are unique, and besides, they occur in unique situations and are involved in unique actions. Culturally, they may be defined as one and the same referent: but morphologically they are discrete, and it is next to impossible to store all the variants of a referent separately. One is forced to conceptualize an "average referent," which I have called a construct.

A construct is the result of experience with all the variants of a referent. It may be stereotyped or caricatured or an extreme version of the referent, but more often it is a composite of most of the referent experiences of the individual—a central tendency. A construct is not fixed and inflexible but subject to change and development, since it is sensitive to every new experience with the referent. Constructs also are subject to assimilation and contrast effects that Muzaffer Sherif and Carl Hovland have shown exist in social judgment (1961, chap. 3).* A version of the referent

*See Roger Brown, Social Psychology. New York: The Free Press, 1965, pp. 322-328, for a discussion of the studies of Vigotsky, Piaget and Inhelder, and Bruner and Olver, all of which indicate that this is probably true.

that differs slightly from the construct (with which it is compared upon any new experience with the referent) is assimilated and seen as more to the construct than it actually is, or is contrasted, if the difference between the referent and the construct is seen as great. In the former case, the attributes of the new version modify or expand the construct; in the latter case, its attributes are associated with a contrasting construct.

An example would be the view that people have of the system of government of a friendly and of an unfriendly nation. If the nation is friendly, the system is more likely to be seen as like one's own and assimilated to the relevant referent, e.g., a democratic government; if unfriendly, it is likely to be contrasted and its attributes are associated with the contrasting form of government, e.g., dictatorial. These are not necessarily polar forms of government in a technical sense, but they may be perceived as polar constructs. It is fairly obvious how assimilation and contrast can lead to reduced effectiveness in communication.

Symbols: The vehicle through which constructs are brought to the conscious level in the minds of communicants is the symbol. A symbol may be a word or a gesture or an article of clothing or any act or artifact that represents some other act, artifact, natural phenomenon or concept by common agreement within a culture. When two or more individuals use or manipulate symbols, they evoke in each other's minds a series of constructs. Constructs are, therefore, the sensations or pictures in the mind that correspond to an individual's experiences with the referents being mentioned. Since referents are never experienced in the same way by any two individuals, the constructs developed and later evoked through the manipulation of symbols by two individuals are never identical, or isomorphic.

That people develop constructs was shown by Edna Heidbreder in her study of concept formation (1946). Her subjects abstracted certain recurrent attributes inherent in referents with which they came into contact. These attributes they then generalized to all cases that contained similar attributes and associated them with a symbol. Heidbreder concluded that this is how language is learned, i.e., symbols are associated with concepts. But while the symbol is a useful mnemonic device—one that helps in classifying and storing concepts—the relationship between the referent and the concept or construct is equally important.

The fact that referents are associated with constructs and vice versa in the absence of symbols is illustrated by Helen Keller's story of how she was first exposed to language (White 1949, p. 38). Becoming deaf and blind before she had learned to speak, she was tutored by a Miss Sullivan. This is how she describes her first encounter with words:

As the cool stream gushed over one hand she (Miss Sullivan) spelled into the other the word water, first slowly, then rapidly. I stood still, my whole attention fixed upon the motion of her fingers. Suddenly I felt a misty consciousness as of something forgotten—a thrill of returning thought; and somehow the mystery of language was revealed to me. I knew then that 'w-a-t-e-r' meant that wonderful cool something that was flowing over my hand. That living word awakened my soul, gave it light, hope, joy, set it free!

That constructs vary from one person to another even within the same culture, has been shown by a number of researchers using a variety of techniques. Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum used the semantic differential, which they developed, to locate a concept in semantic space by means of a series of differentiating judgments (1957). Even by this crude measure, few people place concepts in identical positions semantically, although it has been shown that there is higher consistency within cultures than between cultures (Tanaka and Osgood 1965). Concepts have also been defined by free verbal association or by a similarity judgment method in which the subjects are asked to match concepts with words in a list presented to them (Szalay and Brent 1967). These methods, too, indicate that there are greater similarities in constructs within cultures than between cultures, but that there are wide divergences among subjects within a culture.

Communication would be impossible if it depended on perfect isomorphism in construct. Fortunately, we tolerate deviations from our constructs because these represent central tendencies of referent experiences, with appropriate confidence limits. Tolerance makes communication possible, while at the same time making it more ambiguous. The development of tolerance is well illustrated by studies of concept formation, such as Heider's mentioned above, or of how children learn to speak. Lewis watched his son from age 16 months through 23 months learn to understand the concept "flower," by learning to tolerate variations in kinds, locations and even pictorial representations of flowers (1959). Man also tolerates an incomplete message and learns to complete a construct contextually, as David Krach and Richard Crutchfield point out (1971), and as Wilson Taylor demonstrates with his "cloze procedure" (1953).

An example may help. The symbol "house" retrieves my construct of house from storage in my brain. It certainly would not correspond to anyone else's construct of house. If I were shown a picture of a house, I would probably agree that while it did not look anything like my personal construct, it was essentially what I had in mind.* Culturally imposed tolerances would probably permit me to accept the deviation from my construct, but it might not. If two individuals were raised in different cultures, their constructs may be dissimilar beyond tolerable deviations. It can easily be seen that the point must be reached when there is no isomorphism in constructs, i.e., no communication.

This suggests that there are degrees of communication and that communication is always less than fully effective. The point may be reached where there is no communication at all through a given transmitted message. This is in one direction of a continuum. In the other direction is ever increasing improvement in communication, tending toward isomorphism in construct.

The Nature of Culture. Now let us look at what we mean by culture. Melville Herskovits defines culture as "the man-made part of the environment"

*Not to be confused with stylized drawings of a house, which are no more than pictographs--agree upon symbols that vary from culture to culture.

(1948, p. 17). George Murdock says that culture consists of habits and tendencies to act in a certain way, not the action itself (1956, p. 249). And Ward Goodenough says culture is whatever people have to know to operate acceptably in society. "It does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them" (1964, p. 36).

Benjamin Whorf has said that language functions not only to communicate thought but (by implication) it serves as a vehicle of culture (1964, p. 139). Ed Sapir, Whorf and others have suggested that one's entire world view depends on the language he speaks, since language defines and structures our experiences for us (Henle 1966, p. 1). While people acquire most of their culture in the process of learning their language (Goodenough 1964, p. 39), and some have said that if cultures were grouped they would coincide with language areas (Hoijer 1964, p. 455), it is not necessarily true that people speaking the same language have the same culture. British and American cultures differ, and the culture of English-speaking India differs even more from that of the two Western countries.

Yet, undeniably, language is one of the most important factors in creating similarity in culture. Harry Triandis asserts that other factors are values, ideals, attitudes, geographic location, race (physical type), social class, occupation, religion, nationality, age, sex and roles. He says, "Similarity in any of the characteristics listed above may produce similarities in culture between two groups" (1964, p. 2). Furthermore "subjects employing a particular set of categories (imposed by language) experience difficulties in communicating with subjects employing another set" (pp. 9-10). Conversely, Clyde Kluckhohn says that "when people from two groups, despite perceptible variation in the details of their life-ways, nevertheless share enough basic assumptions so that they can communicate--in the broadest sense of that term--comfortably, then their cultures are only variants of a single culture" (1962, p. 65).

Communication, therefore, occurs only within a culture, since culture defines and patterns our experiences, and these, in turn, control the development of our constructs.

If that were the whole story, we might as well say farewell to the prospects of cross-cultural communication. But most of us would say, "Nonsense. I have personally experienced talking to people with manifestly different cultures, and we had little or no problem communicating." This is true, and it seems to negate the proposition that communication is possible only within cultures, not between them. The problem lies in the ambiguity and breadth of meaning of the term "culture." We have said that culture may be defined as the rules of behavior of a given group or society and that a variety of demographic and attitudinal factors may be the constitutive base of these groups. Every one of us belongs to a number of groups and shares the cultural norms of those groups. The term "culture" is sometimes used metonymically, however, and in this sense a characteristic of a society—for example, its language or geographic location—is permitted to represent the society as a whole. When we speak of "French culture," we mean either the group of people who speak the French language or the group of people who live in France. "Culture," in this sense, suggests a closed and discrete society whose cultural norms are unique to itself as contrasted with the cultural norms of other societies.

This, of course, is not the case, and it is one of the problems of equating culture with language areas. Kluckhohn argues that "every man is, in certain respects, (a) like all other men, (b) like some other men, and (c) like no other man" (1962, p. 26). This suggests that culture, like communication, may be thought of in terms of a continuum. Culture ranges from an individual's unique patterned ways of behaving, feeling and reacting to certain universal norms that are rooted in the common biological needs of mankind. The further one goes in the direction of cultural universals, the greater the chances of communication. In the opposite direction, of course, lies ever decreasing chances of isomorphism in constructs.

Clark Wissler and others have argued that cultural universals stop at biological needs or drives. "It seems reasonable to suppose," he says, "that what all men have in common is inherited" (Herskovits 1948, p. 234; also White 1949, pp. 121-123). The only thing one might term cultural, these anthropologists say, is man's response to his innate drives. Thus, eating is biological, but how one satisfies one's hunger is cultural (White 1949, p. 152). And in this respect, people are dissimilar in different parts of the world. The Chinese, for example, hate milk and cheese; Navajos won't eat fish; Americans won't eat dogs. An Arizona hostess served rattlesnake in sandwiches and caused her guests to vomit when they were told what it was. Until then they had enjoyed it (Kluckhohn 1957, p. 22). Sex, too, is biological, but with whom and how it is permitted is cultural (White 1949, p. 154). Culture, in fact, is defined in terms of these very differences. People tend to think their cultural traits are human nature, but, says White, "There is no custom or belief that can be said to express 'human' nature more than any other" (White 1949, p. 287).

There are some anthropologists, however, who present equally cogent arguments for cultural, as opposed to biological, universals. In a paper, "Looking Backward," A.V. Kidder in 1940 pointed out that man has universally used stone tools, cultivated plants, created pottery, spun fibers out of wool and woven them into cloth, domesticated animals, fashioned tools out of metals, developed writing systems. In the spiritual realm, man had universally worshiped gods, recognized priesthoods, established governments, and created paintings and sculptures (Moore 1961, pp. 94-95n). These are examples in which not only the underlying need is universal but also the method for satisfying that need.

Closer examination quite plainly shows why anthropologists disagree. Cultural conformity is manifested not only in a continuum of common institutions, beliefs and artifacts—that is, an increasing or decreasing amount or number of similarities—but it is also measurable hierarchically—that is, in terms of degrees of similarity. Thus priesthood may be at one level of the hierarchy, the type of priesthood at another, down to the specific priest, who is unique, of course, at the lower end of the hierarchy. There is cultural homogeneity between two societies that resolve the unpredictabilities of life by recourse to priesthoods; there is greater homogeneity between societies that select their priests, train them and organize them in a specific way. Societies that share a common priesthood (such as the Roman Catholic church) are obviously even more homogeneous. One cannot, therefore, argue, as some have, that two societies are either culturally discrete or culturally homogeneous. There are only degrees of homogeneity, with universal biological homogeneity at one end of the spectrum being generally conceded. In other words, it is not physical contiguity, it is not language, it

is not even a common heritage that creates common culture--although all these things help; it is simply the intentional or unintentional decision to follow certain common rules of social interaction, of perceiving things in the same way, of organizing one's environment similarly that produces cultural resemblances.

Secondly, people may be culturally similar without being identical. In fact, close examination will show that there is no perfect cultural identity between any two individuals, there are only degrees of similarity. Thirdly, cultural norms exist for all human behavior. While one often speaks of a particular culture and thinks of a group of individuals who "possess" that culture, this is a totally misleading use of the term. To say that one person belongs to the Western culture and another to the Oriental culture suggests mutual exclusivity that certainly does not exist. Two individuals belonging to the so-called Western culture (thinking in terms of their habitat, ethnic origin or language) may be more different in many of their cultural traits than one of those individuals is from someone belonging to the so-called Oriental culture. In other words, people do not belong to a culture, but a variety of cultural traits belong to people, and two individuals even from the same family may differ in a large number of these cultural traits.

The Contradiction. Not only is all communication--regardless of who the communicants are--of necessity less than 100% effective, but communication must also be thought of as existing between individuals who are less than 100% culturally homogeneous. Communication is always approximate, at best. Nevertheless, because human beings are programmed for construct tolerance, communication can be made adequately precise for almost all purposes.

Since individuals may differ not only in the number of cultural traits they share in common but the degree to which each of these traits are similar, the number of possible cultural characteristic combinations is infinite. Variables such as language, geographical origin, age, sex, class, education, race, religion, personality and general attitudes will affect cultural consanguinity so that two individuals who are culturally diverse on one topic or at one time may be culturally homogeneous under different circumstances. Communication effectiveness between them will, therefore, fluctuate even during a single contact. Over a period of time, communication will improve because constructs will converge, tolerance will increase, and cultural norms will tend toward homogeneity.

It has never been claimed that the building of the Tower of Babel resulted in the confounding of cultures, only the confounding of language. But even if humankind had started out with totally different cultures, and there were no cultural universals--not even biological--there has been so much economic, political and social intercourse among people down the ages that they cannot help but have developed numerous common cultural traits. To the extent and in the areas that these have evolved, communication is not cross-cultural but intra-cultural and relatively effective. To the extent that cultural traits have diverged or remained divergent, communication is correspondingly less effective since cultural characteristics are disparate. This is another way of saying that there is no such thing as cross-cultural communication, although there may be much relatively effective communication between people and peoples, most of whose cultural characteristics may seem hopelessly different.

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PART 4

COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Seven international mass communication scholars in this section present varied views of the roles of mass communication studies and of mass communication itself in relation to the processes of national development. The panelists were Dr. Kurt Kent, University of Florida, moderator; Dr. Robert E. Simmons, University of Brasilia; Dr. Leslie G. Moeller, professor emeritus, University of Iowa; Dr. Hamid Mowlana, American University, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Ralph L. Lowenstein, University of Missouri; Dr. Pablo Pindas, Iberoamerican University, Mexico, D. F.; and C. Lee Hilewick, ACTION, Inc., Athens, Ga. (now with Kappa Systems in Arlington, Va.).

Among topics considered are the status of mass communication research in connection with what it can offer to national development, the role of the mass media in determining national goals, discussions of how the media may fit into models of national development, the need for information from the media to help decision-makers, some specific comments on how the media may help in a specific national goal—population control—and setting up communications models for communities.

Dr. Simmons, drawing upon his experience in Brazil, notes that frequently mass communication research findings are not readily available or understandable to others working in national development. He advocates dissemination in more convenient forms of such research to lay audiences.

Dr. Moeller points out that it is not enough today to consider only the economic and financial factors in setting goals for national development. Social, cultural, psychic and individual values and moral systems must be considered in planning goals. He notes that a function of the mass media, according to the Hutchins Commission, is "the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society."

The question of the use of mass media in social change and its implications for national development objectives is considered by Dr. Mowlana. He believes that "it is only by viewing the media use and value change from the relative perspective of national objectives that the dilemmas and deficiencies from unfounded value judgments can be eliminated."

Dr. Lowenstein says that it may be useful to look at the concept of press freedom as having two different levels in many nations. These levels are a higher amount of press freedom for decision-making elites and a lesser degree of press freedom for the mass of the citizenry. He notes that decision-makers seek out solid information from alternate media sources where the media are controlled within their own countries.

The specific problem of population control and the role of the mass media in overcoming such a problem are discussed by Dr. Pindas. He notes that in Mexico mass communication research must address itself to finding ways of getting messages to vastly differing audiences--groups ranging from primitive Indians to modern urban residents.

Ms. Hilewick discusses the need for detailed planning of communications systems, networks and efforts within a community and gives some specific models which may be helpful to a variety of community settings throughout the world.

Dr. Kent, panel moderator, is assistant professor at the College of Journalism and Communications, University of Florida, where he is also associate director of the Communication Research Center. He is director of the Latin American Data Bank at the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida. He received his bachelor's and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Minnesota, and his master's from the University of Iowa. He has worked on The (Mexico City) News. His teaching and research interests include mass communication and development, macroscopic communication theory and research methods.

Remarks by Robert E. Simmons

Biographical note: Since 1973, Dr. Simmons has been teaching and conducting research in the Department of Communication at the University of Brasilia in Brazil, where he is now a professor. Previously, he was director of the Communications Research Center at the University of Florida. He has had reporting, editing and advertising experience, and his teaching areas include news-editorial, advertising and international communication courses. He received his bachelor's degree from Florida State and his master's degree and Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota.

The following is a condensation of Dr. Simmons' remarks.

The effect of the mass communications media seems to have been less on national development than had been expected or desired, Dr. Simmons said. He believes that this lack of effect is due in part to the problem of diffusion of information concerning mass communication research on problems of development. Much of the research published has not been readily available to users in the developing nations because such research has been published in a foreign language and because it is frequently very fragmented.

When research findings are available, they frequently are prepared for a specialized audience of communication researchers and in this form are not practical or suitable for other users in the developing nations, he pointed out.

Dr. Simmons suggested some ways in which these problems may be overcome. He discussed computerized data-retrieval systems such as the one at the University of Florida which could make data available rapidly to Latin Americans hooked into a rapid data-transmission system. Such an operation could carry out rapid data searches and furnish abstracts and other information, he said.

Another need for better information diffusion on research areas is a journal devoted to mass communication and development topics—but a journal written in a style which would be understandable and useful to the layman. Dr. Simmons also suggested that summary reports and abstracts of research findings should be made available in the countries where the research is performed. Frequently research findings are not disseminated by foreign researchers working in developing nations, or else there is a long time-lag before information becomes available about a project.

He also advocated more seminars and meetings between communication investigators and mass media workers in Latin America as a means of diffusing more useful information. Sometimes academic people have "their heads in the clouds and don't give hard guidance to communications people," he said. He noted that perhaps we need to know more about what people do to communication, rather than concentrating so much on what communication does to people.

Another problem is that too often researchers and others assume that because a nation is shown with a high literacy rate that most of its citizens will understand what they read. Such is not the case--even in the United States, he said. This lack of decoding ability can interfere with the effectiveness of communication, he explained.

The Mass Media and the Development and Dissemination
of National Goals

By Leslie G. Moeller

Biographical note: Please see note on Dr. Moeller in Part 2.

In the modern world, any nation, whether developing or developed, must certainly face the need for a statement of national goals. Of course, all nations have goals, whether stated or unstated, but in the whirling world of 1974, there seems an especial desirability for having a statement of goals which has been formally proposed and openly talked about, so that a rather substantial consensus exists on behalf of the targets which have been set out. Such a pattern of decision on goals is in a sense unavoidable, since in these times such a statement is so desperately needed. An obvious major reason is that no nation now has those unlimited resources of personnel, facilities and finance which make the attack of all goals immediately possible.

In such a situation, choices must then be made. The decision will be made that within element A, let us say, education, educational subphases C and E deserve priority, but that for the moment subphases G and K do not have priority. This could mean, for example, that providing certain phases of technological education takes precedence over high competence, as distinguished from basic competence, in a second language. Such a situation is reached, as Gerhard Colm has so effectively pointed out, when a nation, after first having no goals pattern, moves into a period of crises involving performance and achievement goals. These crises make clearer than before, as was the case, for example, in the United States after the Russians orbited Sputnik, that certain assumptions should be reexamined. As a result, there is a birth of a new consciousness of goals.¹

In the United States, in the late 1950s, a Commission on National Goals was named by President Eisenhower, and its report, in 1960, listed goals but did not consider costs and also did not consider priorities.² That further step was undertaken by a number of bodies, one of the most notable being the National Planning Association, which set up a Center for Priority Analysis. The center considered such U.S. needs as consumer expenditures and savings, private plant and equipment, urban development, social welfare, health, education, transportation, national defense, housing, research and development, natural resources, international aid, space, agriculture, manpower retraining, and area redevelopment; the center also estimated costs and matched these against estimated income.³

To take the next step, and to produce a statement of priorities, it is essential along the way to consider resources. What is the expectable trend of gross national produce, considered for the moment in the mundane and somewhat criticized essentially economic sense? What are the financial and other resources which are potentially and actually available?

But it is not enough today to consider only the economic and financial factors; in these times it is necessary to bring in also social and cultural and psychic and highly individual values (even moral systems). To be specific: the building of a park does not usually enhance gross national

product, because the park is not "productive," but more and more we are coming to the view that the park may be highly "productive," and that this factor must be apparent in goal setting.⁴ There are, then, efforts to revise the approach to the GNP, so that it is more meaningful, and also to develop social indicators which can be quantitative measures of changes of certain crucial factors in society often thought of earlier in primarily a qualitative sense.⁵

How then do we go about determining these national goals? In many societies, and most of those with which we are here most concerned, the setting of goals can no longer be most effectively done by a centralized authority, often the executive, which proceeds essentially with only nominal consultation with elements outside the planning group and its superior authority.⁶ Instead, the process is one which essentially demands quite high level of general participation, not, I will grant, achieved in many societies, if the process is to be most effective. This approach calls for receiving suggestions at many levels, and from citizens of all types and classes. The suggestions are then reviewed in a wide-ranging and continuing process, probably at a number of different levels.

It is unwise to have the planning done by a unit completely separated from operating agencies; most planning which is done well is carried out in close conjunction with the operating divisions of an enterprise; Norway, for example, has recently completed long-range plans for civil science and technology programs with a wide base of participation in discussion.⁷ In a nation, it is perhaps acceptable from time to time to have a major group of nationally known persons carry out a special spotlighted project on the nation's goals, but on a month-to-month and year-to-year basis the planning should be done with intensive participation by the operational staffs and by many citizens. In this procedure, now sometimes referred to as trans-active planning, Vetter comments that "client and planner engage in a process of mutual learning through a life of dialogue."⁸ This approach implies also that there is an ongoing review of plans so that goals and procedures and priorities are always under examination, very possible in a community-wide "state of the nation" survey of the type recently completed by Potomac Associates.⁹

What results can be expected from the preparation of such a statement of national goals? What will come to pass, ideally, as a result of its completion? And why should the mass media be more than usually concerned?

First, obviously, such a statement informs the public; it provides knowledge of what the declared goals are. Such a statement also focuses attention. It spotlights the major issues of national concern. It increases interest; it raises the national level of alertness. Well done, a goals statement can stimulate and inspire. It is interesting to consider how much the United States might have lost if it had not had its beginning in the Declaration of Independence, a most memorable statement, which still, after nearly two centuries, has great power to arouse and to motivate.

Such a statement helps tell the citizen what the problems are; perhaps he gets the message here more clearly than in any other way, unless the media are exceptionally active and alert, and it is also true that the probabilities are high that he will receive his word of the goals statement through the media.

Such a statement of goals has the potential to bring an increased ability to use relevant, or even total, resources, and to use them better. Well done, the statement could help bring out the effective—and that word is important—use of modern management techniques such as PERT (Program Evaluation and Review Technique) and PPB (Planning, Programming, and Budgeting). Such a statement also offers the opportunity for "management by objectives," permitting the setting of quantitative and qualitative targets of many kinds, at many levels, and at many stages, so that there is a logical opportunity for checking progress and fulfillment of planned targets. Continuing reexamination is thus made much easier and more certain.

Developing a national statement of goals has the important result of bringing conflict to the surface, so that the opportunity then arises to use conflict constructively for the public interest. In a slightly different way, the setting of national goals offers some opportunities for using constructively the not always beneficent forces of nationalism—a way of tapping resources and power which might not otherwise be used so well.

A goals statement offers aid too in the field of international relations. If there are dealings with international financing, such as the Inter-American Development Bank, such a goal statement offers not only evidence of national concern, but of concern strong enough to result in sustained consideration and decision.¹⁰ What is more, a statement of national goals can help bring a nation more into focus in its dealings with the multinational corporations, those hydra-headed bringers of mixed blessings, essential but also profoundly worrisome, to which I refer later in more detail. Such corporations have a normal concern with the stability of nations with which they deal, and the production of a national goals statement should be at least some evidence of such stability.

In considering how the functions of the mass media are brought to bear on the planning of national goals, we may begin with the fourth of the five ideal requirements for the mass media set out by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, the so-called Hutchins Commission: "the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society."¹¹ The commission amplifies by declaring that "the agencies of mass communication are an educational instrument, perhaps the most powerful there is; and they must assume a responsibility like that of educators in stating and clarifying the ideals toward which the community should strive."

Specifically, what functions of the media are most apparent?

First, of course, is the function of the disseminating of information, of providing a continuing flow of content to aid the citizen in day-to-day orientation to his environment; in John Merrill's words, "The press wields tremendous power today as a purveyor of vital information."¹² This function probably needs little amplification as a function, even though I shall later be speaking of the specifics of execution; at the same time, the fact that it is easy to state this goal does not mean that it is easy to fulfill. Beyond orientation for instrumental purposes, in which the news is often quickly put to use, I must mention that other informative material will also fill the important function of satisfying curiosity. "What's happening now?" is an honest, frequent and meaningful question in society, and deserves an answer.

An important related function is that of explanation, of interpretation, to fill the need of the citizen for a picture of how new things change his old world, of why things are changing, of what the changes will mean. Both editorials and investigative and interpretive reporting are crucial here. This explanatory-interpretative work might, for example, well have for its foundation as many as possible of the six elements for estimating possibilities of social change which are being used by Nector E. Terleckyj in a study for the National Planning Association: (1) selection and definitions of areas of concern and identification of indicators of social conditions, (2) projection of trend levels of these conditions and of resource uses, (3) distinction between fixed and discretionary activities, over time, (4) identification of discretionary activities, costs and effects, (5) projections of resources available for discretionary activities, (6) maximum feasible output of combinations of discretionary activities which can be undertaken within the estimated resource supply.¹³

An intriguing term in the information-giving area comes from Harold Lasswell and Allan Holmberg, who have referred to the reporter as one of the "enlightenment shapers" in the society.¹⁴ From the standpoint of achieving national goals, it is especially important that the explanation in the media anticipate worries, troubles and malfunctions—that the explanation work to prevent dysfunction—but in such a way that the citizen is not overly dependent on the mass media to do his thinking, and that the citizen does indeed retain a capability for reaction and for comment and criticism. These are of course also matters for the intense concern of the educational system.

A somewhat related subphase is the setting of the agenda for the society, in which the media make clear the matters which are under discussion in the society, and provide a vocabulary of discussion, so that the citizen can enter the universe of discourse and be made much more a working partner in society. This setting of the agenda is described effectively by Deutschmann, Ellingsworth and McNelly in their study of how new technology is introduced in Latin America.¹⁵ Media power in agenda setting is summarized by Funkhouser in the comment, "Apparently the average person takes the media's word for what the 'issues' are, whether or not he personally has any involvement or interest in them."¹⁶

Even more, the media can make clear a different type of agenda: the agenda which ought to be discussed in the society, those items which are on the horizon; these include "the intrusive event," which Nisbet has spoken of as a great change-bringer.¹⁷ The citizen today needs to know that these elements, whether the energy crisis or some other factor, are at the least highly likely to loom large in the tomorrow. This role of expanding the mental horizon is often beset with difficulties because of attitudes toward the media; as John Lent points out in commenting on Asian newspapers, "The press role in Asia historically has been seen as the circulation and promotion of 'correct' ideas rather than the purveying of news...and the furnishing of a forum for competing ideas."¹⁸

The media aid also in the developing and in the recognizing of new leaders; since all societies face the constant urgency of renewal, this function, which can be better performed by the media than by any other element, is crucial.

The mass media should, in essence, provide much leadership constantly in the whole field of social change. They work to break citizens loose from apathy. They transmit pictures of needs. In the words of Schramm, the media weld the nation together by "keeping the national goals and the national accomplishments always before the public."¹⁹ The media encourage and explain the process of planning. The media raise questions: for example, must this nation really be like most other nations in its targets, goals, pattern, development? Should this nation consider at least some differences in emphases? I realize that for many nations there is not much immediate luxury of choice: the essentials of production of food and of other goods are currently overriding. But the media ideally must look for the longer run, and go somewhat further.

Along the way, and I treat this not casually, the media contend vigorously for the safeguarding of human liberties.

As still another function in most nations, and this is interestingly brought out in recent work by Elihu Katz, the media have the need to build a greater faith in the quality of the society and in its functioning.²⁰ I hasten to add that this function does not relieve the media from the obligation to police the society, to expose malfeasance and to improve still further the proper functioning of the society.

Finally, the media need to work for an operating attitude of civility, not only in their own conduct but in the conduct of public affairs. By civility, I here mean something more than the mechanisms of courtesy; I am referring to an effort to carry on discussion in a rational rather than in an emotional manner, and to stress a concern for human dignity and for the treatment of persons as human beings rather than as mechanisms and stimulus-response entities.

In facing up to the immediate assignment of carrying out these functions, how do the mass media conduct themselves in their responsibilities on national goals? Obviously size is a factor; the smaller media can, usually, do less than the larger, but all can be concerned, and active also. (And I am aware as well that many have much concern with the immediate problems of press freedom, as is apparent at once from reading the trauma-laden pages of the IAPA News and the IPI Report.)

As a beginning, the media might look well again at their often tradition-bound approaches to the treatment of news content. For example, on one major assignment, that of information, which is much more complicated than one would at first think, it is not now enough, as many people have said, merely to "cover" the news in the old sense. We are rapidly moving past that mid-20th-century concept, and beginning to face up to the new situation: that the nature of news has changed, and that too often the media do not soon enough present what the citizen must have for adequate comprehension, and for adequate preparedness.²¹

In great part, this is the case because crucial news today is often presented as casually episodic in nature, in bits and pieces, so that "what happened today" often does not clarify, and may even distort. Such major news is now so often a matter of a "continuing situation," rather than a single one-day event or episode. These stories, then deserve a new kind of major investigative treatment, if the public is soundly to perceive the whole picture, rather than the incident-by-incident coverage of earlier years.²²

The other great change has come about in the content or subject matter of the new-type major news stories. Most of them are not simple in nature and the subjects may be abstruse. Consider fiscal policy, the flow of international trade, energy, balance of payments, natural resources, population change, genetic engineering, environmental control or the changing needs of the populace for education. They are not suited for simplistic, here-it-is-in-200 words, black-or-white, good guys or bad guys treatment. Examples of deficiencies in coverage are often mentioned by observers of the press. Max Ways of Fortune magazine has pointed out that the impacts of the computer, one of the great technological achievements of our time, were not told well by the U.S. mass media and that as a result there were extensive and long held fears of resulting unemployment which were not warranted.²³ The point has been made that Michael Harrington, and not the media, discovered poverty in the modern United States. For many years race relations problems in the United States were under-reported and perhaps generally misreported. A lawyer named Nader was the first to speak out effectively on many of the problems of the modern motor car.

In these new approaches, much of the content will be summarizing, interpretative and quite general or broad in nature. At the same time, the presentations must both be sufficiently local, and be seen as sufficiently applicable to the self, if they are to have an increased and immediate impact for most members of the audience. In this connection it would be most helpful if the media could adopt a practice not now often followed, that of being very specific about other possible sources of information on given topics.

In helping to set the agenda for the society, the media need again to be certain that the materials are presented so that they take hold of the citizen and so that the citizen can see quickly why he should take hold of them.²⁴ If material is presented in this meaningful way, taking into account especially the pluralistic nature of most societies, and the great and often conflicting diversities of interests, the chances for citizen participation are greatly increased. Presenting ideas for the possible agenda for coming years (as distinguished from now) can help the media to effectively encourage the planning process, since the presentation of actual near-future problems helps make clear the need for planning and for making the planning process work better.

The continuing emphasis on local and regional methods of feeding into national planning patterns is crucial. The media help here by working to make local planning function at a very effective and efficient level. The program of the Kobe Shimbun is an example. In operating a Special Investigatory Reporting desk in a community service program for the past several years, this Japanese daily has worked directly with local communities on the formal planning of specific programs for improvement. To get more complete information for planning, reporters lived in homes of fishermen and of farmers.²⁵

If one assumes that widespread citizen involvement in planning is important, the media have a crucial part in building that involvement. A case in point is the work of the Honolulu Advertiser in persuading and aiding the state of Hawaii to carry out a planning program.²⁶ After Editor George Chaplin had given a talk urging the setting up of a commission to make plans for, and to hold a conference on, the future, the Hawaiian legis-

lature appropriated \$50,000 for such a committee, of which Chaplin served as chairman. Some 250 persons took a look at where Hawaii stood in a number of different areas, and task forces made suggestions on the middle-range future and on the situation in the year 2000. Both experts and everyday citizens took part. Chaplin says, "The pros are essential, but so are the enlightened laymen, if the climate is to be developed for actively seeking a good future."

In the course of building public involvement, the media have the opportunity to encourage new and additional leadership. The media can observe the work of new leaders in civic affairs, can call attention to their activities, can present their ideas, with full credit, and can help put leaders into situations that will aid further personal growth. Consultation, information providing and general steering are other possible functions here for the media in working with these new leaders.

This close contact with affairs also spotlights the obligation of the media as watchdogs, constantly examining the process of governing at all levels, and in this context, paying special attention to the performance of the planning process.

A part of this procedure today is inevitably the mixture between various power sectors and their functioning. I think especially of the relationship between commercial ventures, financed by private capital, and government units. Although governments are powerful, in most nations private entities also have great resources, and their actions have an important effect upon the setting of national goals. The urgency of exchanging information, and of working closely on the interdevelopment of plans, is very great, and media can be of much service by helping to spotlight long-range planning in the private sector. In less-developed countries (LDCs), efforts with the multinational corporations are especially important, and media can aid in making local attitudes more clear so that there is a better foundation for exchanges of ideas. As Abelson has pointed out, MNCs in many cases are becoming more willing to fit their plans to the needs of LDCs, which usually are shifting toward a pattern of greater local involvement in production.²⁷ For example, assembly of IBM electric typewriters in Bogota, Colombia, is much more labor intensive than in the United States, by design, so that more than half the final cost of the machine is added in Colombia. LDCs are also urging MNCs to localize research and development activities.²⁸

I come now to an area where there is less agreement, and that is the field of very direct media involvement in the planning process itself. By direct, I mean personal contact with members of planning agencies by representatives (not necessarily news gatherers) of individual media, attempting to influence the nature of the planning.²⁹ In instances where the media representatives for some reason, preferably through careful preparation, have high expertise and are capable advisers, the practice would appear to contribute solidly to the public welfare.

In all of this activity, the media have an opportunity to set a good example of civility. If the media are direct and clear and forceful without being shrill or strident or petty, they not only have higher promise of effectiveness in their own endeavors, but they provide a pattern through which other elements in the society will perhaps be more inclined to be

relatively more rational in demands, statements and actions.

The media contribute also by the manner in which they handle news of conflict. In such news stresses the factor of conflict, rather than the issues under discussion, a pattern found too often in most media treatment of news, the chances of workable resolution are weakened. If, instead, the media, not overlooking conflict and difference, will find more satisfying ways of presenting the major forces and elements in each situation, perhaps using the method advanced recently by Haskins, they will perform a great public service.³⁰

In order to effectively work in this fashion in planning for national goals, each medium must carefully work out its own procedures for its treatment of the future.³¹ It has seemed to me to be important that each medium have an ongoing group of staff members charged with developing adequate plans for advising management on actions and plans needed within the medium for the adequate coverage of the future; of course this coverage would include the setting and explanation of national goals.

Such a body, which might well be called "The Committee on the Future," would be made up of some senior--and probably management--level staff members, but I feel strongly it should also include relatively junior members of the news staff. In addition, one or two nonnews persons might well be on the committee. This body would be charged with "looking ahead" and deciding what factors of the future most merit attention in the medium. This survey of the future should specifically include national, regional and local factors seen as important. What actions should then be taken for the coverage of these topics? How can the staff best be prepared to handle this responsibility?

Such a body should meet regularly and have very close relations with the top management of the medium.

As one phase of the essential effort on a medium to take continuing steps, on a conscious basis, for its part in planning national goals, it is desirable to encourage certain staff members to become specialists in crucial fields, whether these be transportation, energy, education or agriculture. Special training for these staff members is highly desirable; I realize that in many cases these staff members must be essentially self-taught, but it will indeed be possible for them to learn a great deal from reading and through discussion with available specialists.

It is also a part of the work of the mass media to prepare the public for the functioning of the mass media. I am convinced that in most nations the public does not fully appreciate the importance of the press, and the great services which can come from the press if it is adequately understood, encouraged and financed. Such an understanding should ideally produce solid support for the mass media in many of their activities which often are not well understood and by their nature are often opposed by certain social elements, including forces in government. Hachten's summarizing words on Africa do apply in other continents as well: "Politicians and government leaders need to be educated on the role of the press."³²

I feel strongly also that the mass media need vigorous professional associations prepared to plan for the media future, and to speak out strongly.

Such groups can offer substantial protection against much mistreatment of the media. I value especially the work of such international groups as the Inter American Press Association and the International Press Institute. Both deserve more vigorous support in time, money and effort than they have been receiving. Organizations of individual journalists are also important; I have much hope for such enterprises as the Society for Professional Journalists, which is now an international body, and under this new name should be an even more effective force than its predecessor, Sigma Delta Chi.

I must also emphasize my feeling that individual journalists are tremendously important. Media management may make policies, but only individual journalists can carry them out effectively. Management may think, help, guide, permit and hope, but it is the on-the-line staff member who must get things done.

Journalism schools also have their place in the work of journalism in the setting of national goals. They can urge students to get substantial public affairs grounding, either in or outside journalism courses, or in both. The schools can offer basic training in planning, perhaps through simulation or role playing. Students can study problems of resistance to planning, and can be given detailed word on sources of information about planning procedures and about the areas which will be the subject of goal setting. Students can be given training in behavioral science research methods, and in such predictive procedures as the Delphi approach. I have commented elsewhere on the needs for certain subject matters in journalism curricula; I mention specifically the theory of organizations, small-group dynamics, decision theory, the theory of games, conflict resolution, systems analysis, and electronic data-processing procedures.³³ The schools can aid also in continuing education programs for news workers, and in intensive short courses on fields which are the subject matter for national-goal planning.

For media workers not able to come to on-campus sessions, the schools can provide detailed and specific reading lists on subject matter fields important in planning. Also useful would be the distribution to the mass of abstracts, sufficiently detailed to be immediately useful, of major articles and booklets which are directly pertinent. I realize fully that in many nations journalism schools are not sufficiently well established to carry on many of these functions; in such cases, I would hope there would be vigorous support from both media and citizenry for strengthening schools.

The mass media of communications can obviously play a crucial part in the intelligent setting of goals for the nation. The media can inform, they can explain, they can stimulate. They can be very substantial contributors, not only in setting goals, but in the effective effort to reach those goals. To do this, most mass media must greatly expand their vision of service, and their fields and patterns of action. Given this larger vision, they can greatly help the citizens of a nation in the march toward the realization of today's vision of a better tomorrow.

Footnotes

1. Gerhard Cola, "Introduction," Goals, Priorities and Dollars: The Next Decade, by Leonard A. Lecht. (New York: The Free Press, 1966).
2. Ibid., p. 5.
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Mass Communication and National Development Objectives

By Hamid Mowlana

Biographical note: Please see note on Dr. Mowlana in Part 3.

Within the democratic framework I want to see us to devote ever more attention to setting up difficult goals and reaching them ahead of schedule. I want to use lectures, films, television programs, the radio, and every other possible device for hammering home the spirit and the methods of economic development. --The Shah of Iran (1961)

We want the mass media to reinforce, not to undermine, the cultural values and social attitudes being inculcated in our schools and universities. --Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore (1971)

Unlike the Leninist concept, ours has not been fashioned by thinkers. Our concept has not been coded through long use as the liberal concept which you defend and reflect. We have a pragmatic concept (of the media)....--Abdou Diouf, Prime Minister of Senegal (1971)

These statements, while in appearance complementary, are actually reflective of different approaches to mass communication and national development. While they are concerned with the relation of mass media phenomena to social, economic and political development in the so-called developing countries, they postulate different modes of viewing this link, reflecting each nation's cultural and historical settings and its development objectives.

The main issue here is the question of the use of mass media in social change and its implications for national development objectives. For example, economic progress can be a positive component of human improvement, but is the configuration of this progress the same for all nations? Cultural norms can pose effective barriers to social advancement, but is "modernization" the only alternative to "traditionalism"?

If one can conceive of a variety of mass communication and development strategies, one must also conceive of diverse cultural and social foundations on which these are to be based. And if one recognizes the value of cultural diversity, one must also perceive the benefits of culturally "relative" development strategies.

Research on mass communication and national development has circled around two different dimensions: some have tried to build universal models of mass communication and development—often under the tradition-modernity syndrome (Lerner, 1958; Pye, 1963; Schramm, 1964; McClelland, 1961), while others have rejected or criticised these models on the grounds of methodological and conceptual Western bias—often under the rubric of "cultural domination" (Schiller, 1969; Wells, 1972; Freire, 1972).

Few attempts have been made to offer alternative roots for investigators and planner alike. I argue that it is only by viewing the media

use and value change from the relative perspective of national objectives that the dilemma and deficiencies from unfounded value judgments can be eliminated—a contention which I will comment on here in some detail.

Research on the role of mass media in national development, particularly as it relates to the less industrialized countries, has reached considerable proportions, with three times as many studies published in the decade after 1960 as in the preceding 30 years (Mowlana, 1973 and 1974). (See Table 4.) Of all aspects in the impressive accumulation of knowledge in international communication, studies of communication and national development, including studies in communication and sociopolitical development as well as communication and the diffusion of innovation, topped the list of available literature in the 1960s. (See Table 2.)

Communication and national development studies are truly the infants of the theoretical field with the latter attracting a great deal of interest in recent years. Research emphasis on the developing nations usually has stressed how to communicate Western ideas and models to these countries, not how to communicate with them. Mass communication and national development is the subfield probably most responsible for the growth of theoretical literature: whether treating national development as "modernization" or "westernization," whether viewing it as a communication system function or as the growth of specific indices such as gross national product or mass participation, "traditionalists" and "behavioralists" in the political science and communication fields have given the subject considerable attention.

Despite frequent articulation of concepts such as "emphathy," "rising expectations," "mass media participation," "two-step flow" and the like, there is little conclusive evidence on the actual effects of communication. There is no consensus among researchers on the degree different messages, sources and channels perform functional or dysfunctional roles within developing countries. Some have viewed the communication function as probably a necessary prerequisite to performance of other social functions. Others ponder whether communication is a necessary step in development processes. In short, we do not yet know how the mass communication system can fit specifically into an analytical model of national development. But there are some general factors agreed upon in discussing the role of the mass media in this process. They include urbanization, development of educational resources, expansion of mass communication systems and development of a developmental "outcomes" in the economic and social spheres.

Both from the point of theory building and its application, I suggest that we study the use of mass media and national development in the context of national objectives. Should we assume that economic laissez-faire and political liberty go together? How about the countries where the two principles are operated independently from each other and where economic and planning controls by government have apparently not interfered with political liberty? How can we fit this into a national development model and the mass media system?

Development is thus a much wider phenomenon than the economic, political and social constructs adopted to promote change; it is the entire gamut of means by which a social system moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory in some way toward some condition

Table 1

Trends in Publication of Studies in International
Communication Based on a Selected Sample of 1,427
(See my data published in Gazette, XIX, No. 2, 1973)

SPECIFIC CULTURE AND/ OR GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS	Total number of publication for:			
	1930-39	1940-49	1950-59	1960-69
Africa	1	2	5	30
Asia	5	5	21	51
Communist Countries	10	5	24	31
Latin America	6	3	12	19
Middle East	0	0	5	25
Western Europe	14	20	31	87
Canada and Oceania				
United States	3	13	20	36
Total	39	48	118	279
THEORETICAL STUDIES AND APPLICATIONS				
Theoretical Basis of Communication	6	17	32	20
Communication and Foreign Policy	5	4	24	45
Public Opinion a and Propaganda	30	30	39	41
Cross-Cultural Communication	3	2	18	37
Communication and National Development	4	0	33	112
Total	48	53	146	255
COMMUNICATION CHANNELS				
International News Communication	9	7	28	32
Laws and Regulations Communication and	5	14	41	63
Space Technology	0	0	0	11
International Communicator and				
Foreign Correspondents	16	14	18	58
General Channels	4	0	12	31
Total	34	35	99	195
BIBLIOGRAPHIES & SOURCE REVIEWS				
	4	7	10	20
Total	125	43	373	749

Table 2

The Increase in the Number of Studies in Each Subfield of
International Communication Compared to Overall Increase in the Field

$$\text{Percentage of works written in decade} = \frac{\text{Number of new works written in decade}}{\text{Total number available at end of decade}} = \frac{n}{t}$$

--computed for 1959 and 1969

CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE WRITTEN IN DECADE		DIFFERENCE FROM NORM	
	1950's	1960's	1950's norm	1960's
Overall	55	52	.55+.05	.52+.05
<u>COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS: GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS</u>				
Africa	62.5	79	+.075	+.27
Asia	60	60	+.05	+.06
Communist Countries	62	44	+.07	-.08
Latin America	46	42	-.09	-.10
Middle East	—	83	—	+.31
Western Europe, etc.	44	55	-.11	+.03
United States	53	49	-.02	-.03
<u>COMMUNICATION THEORY AND APPLICATIONS:</u>				
Theoretical Bases	50	24	-.05	-.28
Communication & Foreign Policy	69	56	+.14	+.04
Propaganda & Public Opinion	39	29	-.16	-.23
Cross-Cultural Communication	78	62	+.23	+.10
Communication & National Development	89	75	+.34	+.10
<u>CHANNELS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION</u>				
General Communication Systems	75	66	+.20	+.14
Laws and Regulations	63	49	+.08	-.03
International Communicator & Foreign Correspondents	37.5	58	-.175	+.06
Communication and the Space Age	—	—	—	—
International News Communication	60	41	+.05	-.11

regarded as "humanly" better. And these developmental means and ends are relative--based on the value each society deems to be requisite for its health and welfare. Isolated attempts at self-definition are evident among today's developing countries.

What is needed is the creation of a new nexus in traditional minds between those values which give meaning, and those which provide rules for action, or what Erik Erikson has termed the reconciliation of old and new images. The so-called "cultural leveling" can be damaging not only in a practical sense but in an aesthetic perspective as well. A great diversity of cultural forms has allowed man to express his full creativity and has given him wide range in developing his manifold capabilities. But this freedom of expression is being threatened through a gradual process of cultural homogenization, in part the byproduct of global transportation and communication systems. No longer is the great advantage of economic growth an increase in the range of human choice; present growth strategies have minimized rather than maximized the degree of cultural freedom.

Whether one envisages these cultural changes as a result of conscious manipulation or as an automatic process, it is important to recognize their negative effects. As the countries are subject to cultural invasion, they come to perceive reality with the outlook of the so-called "invaders" rather than their own; their ability to formulate localized and relevant development goals and strategies thus becomes more impoverished, even in the midst of increasing wealth.

Antidevelopment attitudes are often the result of a failure to formulate a nexus between new behavior patterns and old intimacies. An attempt must be made to introduce discernment and creativity in the impact strategies used to stimulate change. And this requires, above all, a realization of the importance of culture and the goals of the society under consideration, for development is not just economic but a stage in the unfolding of each society's cultural potential.

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Remarks by Ralph L. Lowenstein

Biographical note: Dr. Lowenstein is a professor at the University of Missouri School of Journalism. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees at Columbia University and his Ph.D. at the University of Missouri. His research and teaching areas include international communication, mass media and society, and critical writing. He was visiting professor and head of journalistic studies at Tel Aviv University in 1967-68. He has experience as a reporter and photographer.

The following is a condensation of Dr. Lowenstein's remarks.

It is useful to look at press freedom from a new perspective—that it is dichotomous, having two levels in many nations, Dr. Lowenstein declared. At one level, there may be one degree of press freedom for the masses of the population, and at another level within the same country another level of press freedom for the elites. Frequently there is more liberal freedom of the press for the elite group than for the ordinary citizen. Sometimes this is due to lack of facilities for dissemination or of national priorities for furnishing information to all levels of society.

Elite decision-makers, however, must have some freedom of the press to enable them to make the necessary policy choices, Dr. Lowenstein said. Individuals will seek out information when their press is not free. Sometimes frustrating individuals in this search for information may be more dangerous than denying the information to them. Citizens frequently listen to foreign new broadcasts or read secretly circulated typescripts of forbidden information, as in the Soviet Union, he noted. Elites in Russia often get much of their information from listening to the BBC or the Voice of America, Dr. Lowenstein quoted a Russian emigre as reporting.

Jamming foreign shortwave broadcasts is sometimes a problem for persons seeking information in a system which prohibits its open circulation. But even more of a problem for those trying to get news is the broadcaster who intentionally makes his transmissions so bland that they have little value to the foreign listener. The VOA has recently been accused of cutting down on the amounts of "hard" information being broadcast to Russia, in the interests of detente, he said.

Remarks by Pablo Pindas

Biographical note: Dr. Pindas is professor of communication at Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F., and has held that position for the last several years. He is also with the Instituto Mexicano de Estudios Sociales, Mexico, D.F., a leading social science research organization. Dr. Pindas has been employed with the Institute since 1965.

The following is a condensation of Dr. Pindas' remarks.

Mass communication research has an important role to play in dealing with the major problem of population planning in Mexico—a problem which until recently received little attention. Mexico has had a traditional view about population—that one of the greatest wealths of a nation is in its population growth. But since about 1964, some Mexican leaders have begun considering the population problem seriously, with its implications for the areas of housing, health and education.

Once it was not possible to consider openly a policy toward population planning in Mexico, Dr. Pindas noted. But more and more discussions have been taking place, and information is being transmitted by the mass media concerning the question. The Mexican government has changed its former population policy of "having no policy" and is now engaged in studying the question. The mass media must furnish leadership in such a consideration. Mexico, with its diversity of groups, some living primitively, some traditionally and others in a modern manner, must be reached with messages from the mass media. Mexico is interested not just in changing behaviors in regard to population planning but also in doing this without bringing distress to its population. Examples of other nations, such as India, show that population-planning policies must be arrived at carefully in order to avoid a "boomerang effect," Dr. Pindas said.

Dr. Pindas noted that population control does not simply result in greater national development. Policies must take into account a complexity of different variables—internal and cultural variables, for example. Humankind is all traveling the same boat—a minority riding first class and the rest in third class. Ways must be found to bring about beneficial changes in the lives of the majority of the world's population.

There is a need in Mexico for empirical research to determine the nation's attitudes toward population planning, sampling opinions of the everyday citizen as well as of the elites. Such research may then be used to help guide Mexican decision-makers to plan in an integral way, taking into accounts the many variables, Dr. Pindas pointed out.

Mass communications has a role to play in considering the many internal and cultural differences of the country and giving information to groups as different as the traditional groups and primitive peoples. Mexican leaders do not want to bring anarchy to persons in regard to changes which are needed. A major question for the mass media and media researchers will be how to bring messages supporting change without possible attendant ill effects, Dr. Pindas said.

A Department of Communication and Community Development

A Conceptual Framework

By Carol Lee Hilewick

Biographical note: Ms. Hilewick is senior associate and project manager at Kappa Systems, Inc., in Arlington Va. She has taught at the Technical Institute of Higher Studies of Monterrey, Mexico, and other institutions and has received several research grants, a Fulbright travel grant and a Latin American teaching fellowship. A Ph.D. candidate at the University of Minnesota School of Journalism and Mass Communication, she is completing her dissertation, which concerns attitudes and opinions of Mexicans regarding the influence of the United States in the Mexican mass media. She holds an M.A. degree from the Universidad de las Americas in Puebla, Mexico, and a B.S. degree from Ohio State University.

In human resource or physical planning, it is imperative that we apply our knowledge of attitudes and public opinion, persuasion and the diffusion process when we focus on the issues inherent in community change and development. We have no choice, furthermore, but to analyze existing personal and man-media networks of communication even though technological communication systems remain to be implemented more completely. It is at this point that the theory and methodology employed in the study of communication can provide a framework for planning agencies.

Human as well as technological channels of communication allow us to amplify messages and services and to multiply their effect. Using such channels in developing delivery systems for information and services can only enhance the outreach and citizen participation components essential in programs designed to meet community needs. Once such channels have been identified and analyzed, a model can be developed for a community to utilize in further program planning.

The necessity of designing distinct delivery systems for each target population and program is reduced by relying on a model. In addition, duplication of staff and overhead costs can be avoided to a great extent, and some funds, therefore, probably can be freed for more innovative or exhaustive planning and service delivery. The receipt of funds should be facilitated, since delivery systems will have demonstrated effectiveness, and, at the very least, utilization of such systems should reduce the time and support needed for planning and demonstration stages.

Such delivery systems, furthermore, given their community-specific dimensions, can be designed to account for the information-seeking and decision-making behaviors of the target populations. Since we are aware that large and varied segments of the general public seldom command information-seeking and decision-making behaviors appropriate to their needs (Dervin, 1973), communication specialists working in community development must endeavor to identify and analyze such behaviors on a population- and community-specific basis. From that data base, we can establish when information and service delivery systems might be justifiably replicated--

that is, when they reliably and validly can serve multiple populations, programs and communities.

An agency for planning and research in communication and community development might well incorporate four endeavors: planning for the delivery of information and services, information and education, research and evaluation, and data storage and retrieval. Obviously, care should be taken to avoid duplication of effort across agencies, and coordination of ongoing activities within such agencies should be sought. Most agencies cannot provide the level of sophistication and quality of program planning for the delivery of information and services which could be undertaken in a coordinated effort.

A brief discussion follows of the four divisions of an agency proposed for planning and research in communication and community development (see Figure 1):

1. A division for the planning of delivery systems for information and services could operate two subordinate offices (see Figure 2). Coordination of program planning would be responsible for insuring that the communication component--human or technological--would not be omitted from planning and would be utilized in the delivery systems of all programs.

Planning and development of communication systems would be charged with four functions in the community.

a. Culture and entertainment. Citizen access to and participation in planning and media programming to provide culture and entertainment is desirable in any locality. And when access to the multiple channels available in some areas is limited due to terrain, isolation or some other impeding factor, such planning is imperative.

In a rural setting, access to radio and television opens a window on a world which most urban dwellers experience daily. The media serve as an agent of acculturation, allowing for ready exposure to the mass culture and for exploration and sharing of regional identity. In addition, as residents seek to enhance the quality of their lives, they frequently turn to the media for entertainment, relaxation and aesthetic experiences. If desired and feasible, events of interest can be brought to a community through facilities in a communication center designed, in part, to meet such needs. An example would be utilization of closed-circuit, widescreen television for presenting exhibits, drama or sports events taking place in population centers. When the media can more nearly meet such needs, migration from rural to urban areas might be slowed down, and concomitant problems would be lessened (Goldmark, 1973).

b. Education. Planning for educational needs beyond those typically handled by most school districts would be the primary thrust of this office. Facilitating adoption, application and coordinated use of instructional innovations by educational institutions, industry and commerce would be a basic responsibility. Educational programs would be designed to reach the adult population in its place of work, be it through farm forums or resource centers at industrial sites.

COMMUNICATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

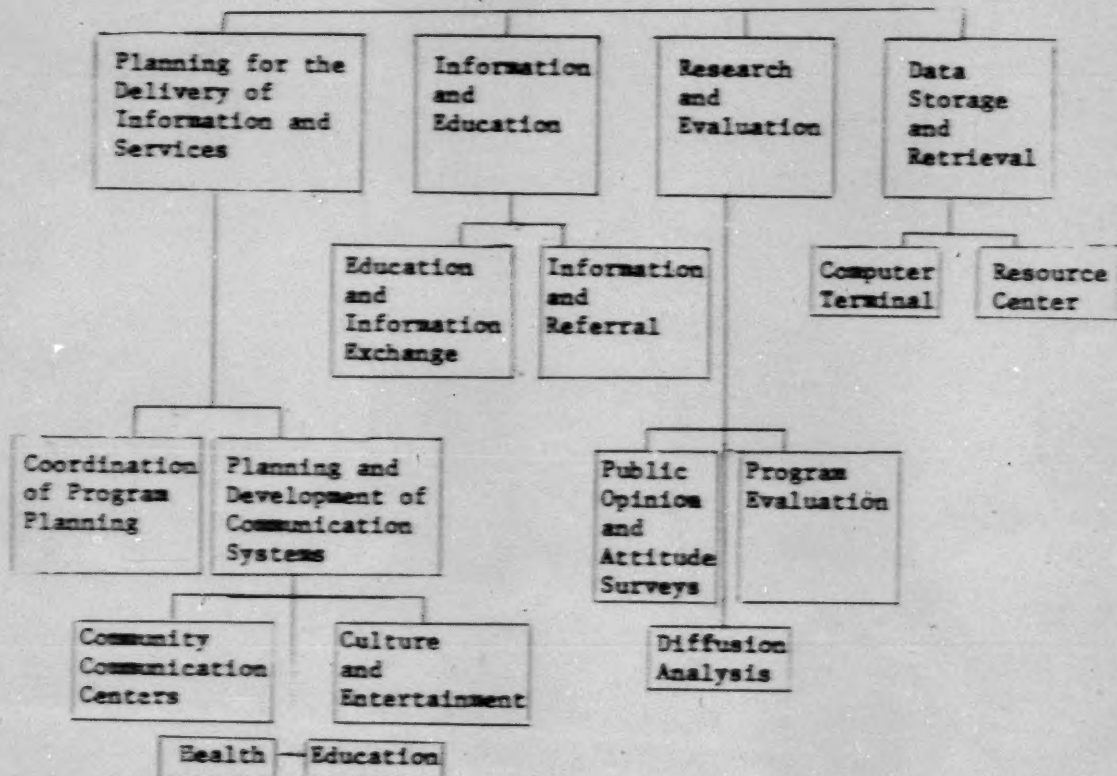


Figure 1

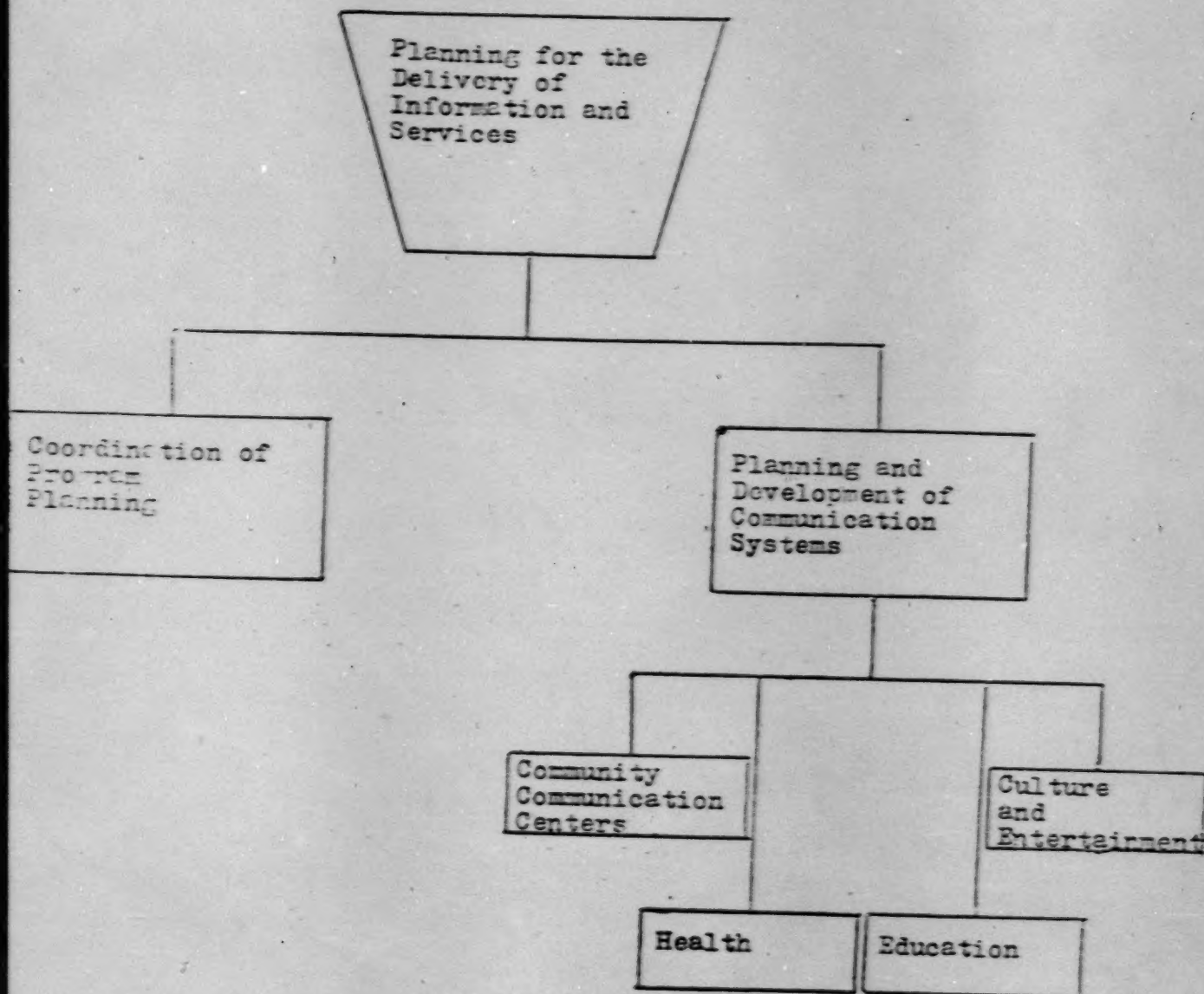


Figure 2

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Access to educational or cable channels or to public service time on commercial radio and television obviously would allow for planning on a scale adequate to meet the challenge presented by needs of the community and by innovations in instruction and outreach. In addition, an open university curriculum could more easily be adapted, especially to reach residents in isolated areas, if access to the media is readily available.

c. Health. Developing health care delivery systems to extend preventive care and treatment to all members of the community would be the primary goal. Existing medical expertise and facilities would be incorporated into both the planning and delivery stages of such systems. The concern lies not with replacing existing services but with designing new systems or adapting those implemented elsewhere, recognizing the desirability of moving toward outreach to the whole community and of emphasizing preventive care.

Information and education campaigns directed at lay and professional members of the community would be developed and coordinated by this office in conjunction with the division of education and information. Such campaigns would be integral components of the planning for outreach and prevention.

As communication networks are analyzed (see subsequent section on research and evaluation), relevant findings would be incorporated into existing or proposed health information and service delivery systems. Efficient and effective messages and hopefully enhanced services are more apt to be developed when such input is systematic.

d. Community communication centers. Citizen participation, information and referral, and educational outreach, are primary facets of the community communication center concept. Although the planning, coordination and evaluation of such endeavors would be carried out by the various affiliated offices of the agency (see Figure 1), the activities required to operationalize these facets would be located at the centers.

Serving as links to other community resources, such as social service or governmental agencies, the centers would assist residents in developing delivery systems and information. This function is crucial, considering those who lack information-seeking and decision-making behaviors adequate to their needs. Public opinion interviewers and field supervisors could be trained and based at these centers, which could serve as coordinating units for survey research.

Communication facilities and networks operating out of these centers could substitute for transportation links, especially in isolated areas when emergency medical services are required. Serving as an adjunct to existing medical facilities and services, the centers might house data phones for the transmission of EEG's and EKG's to more complex health units as well as handle the radio control for field vans manned with paramedics.

Auditoriums and studios equipped for the presentation of cultural, educational and health programs as well as for community-initiated activities could be built into the complex. If financially feasible, computer terminals might be installed, linking the community with the local, state

and federal government and with university facilities. Indeed, the main branch of the library could be housed in the complex and serve as a resource center for the community.

Community receptivity and needs as well as financial resources and constraints would guide, without question, the development of such centers. Although centralization has obvious advantages, clusters of mini-centers might well be optimally functional in densely or sparsely populated areas. Centralization of the physical plant, per se, is not the primary issue: coordination of the functions is and can be implemented through technology when centralization is not feasible.

2. The division of information and education (see Figure 3) would have two functions. Education and information campaigns related to the needs, services and resources of the community would be a basic responsibility. Development of media presentations and coordination of multi-media campaigns would be undertaken, following the thrust of the division of information and education. Additionally, the office of information and referral would coordinate services of existing local, state, regional or federal information and referral systems and plan the development of a system responsive to the community. The neighborhood service system concept as practiced by community action and other agencies could prove, no doubt, to have continued application.

3. Public opinion and attitude surveys would be one of the three functions of the research and evaluation division (see Figure 4). Being responsible for analyzing the opinions and attitudes of the target populations for any given program, this office would assess community needs and the contribution programs are making to meet those needs. Such surveys, obviously, are one way to insure citizen participation in community planning.

The office of diffusion analysis would investigate the diffusion of innovations, information and opinions through personal and mass media networks of communication in the community. Obviously, such studies would dovetail with the public opinion and attitude surveys and aid in the evaluation of programs. Planning adequately oriented toward intercultural, regional or other differences must rely on such analysis on a program-specific basis.

Program evaluation would be ongoing, both in terms of program development and staff evaluation. To insure adequate program development and evaluation, before and after implementation, activities of the public opinion and attitude survey and diffusion analysis units would be coordinated.

4. Data storage and retrieval would be the fourth division (see figure 5). A computer terminal, preferably typing in with a nearby university, would provide distinct advantages for program planning, development and evaluation. To complement this facility, a resource center, charged with serving all planners and program developers within the community, would serve as the storage facility for the other three divisions of the agency.

The objective of this conceptual framework is to outline primary

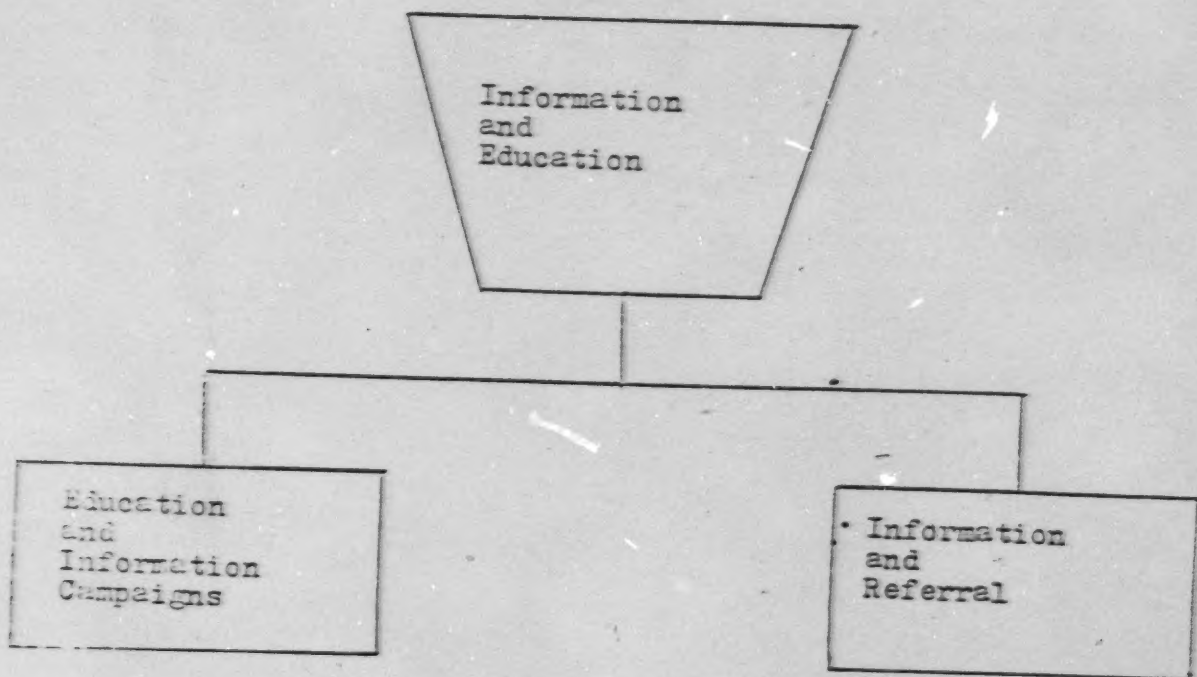


Figure 3

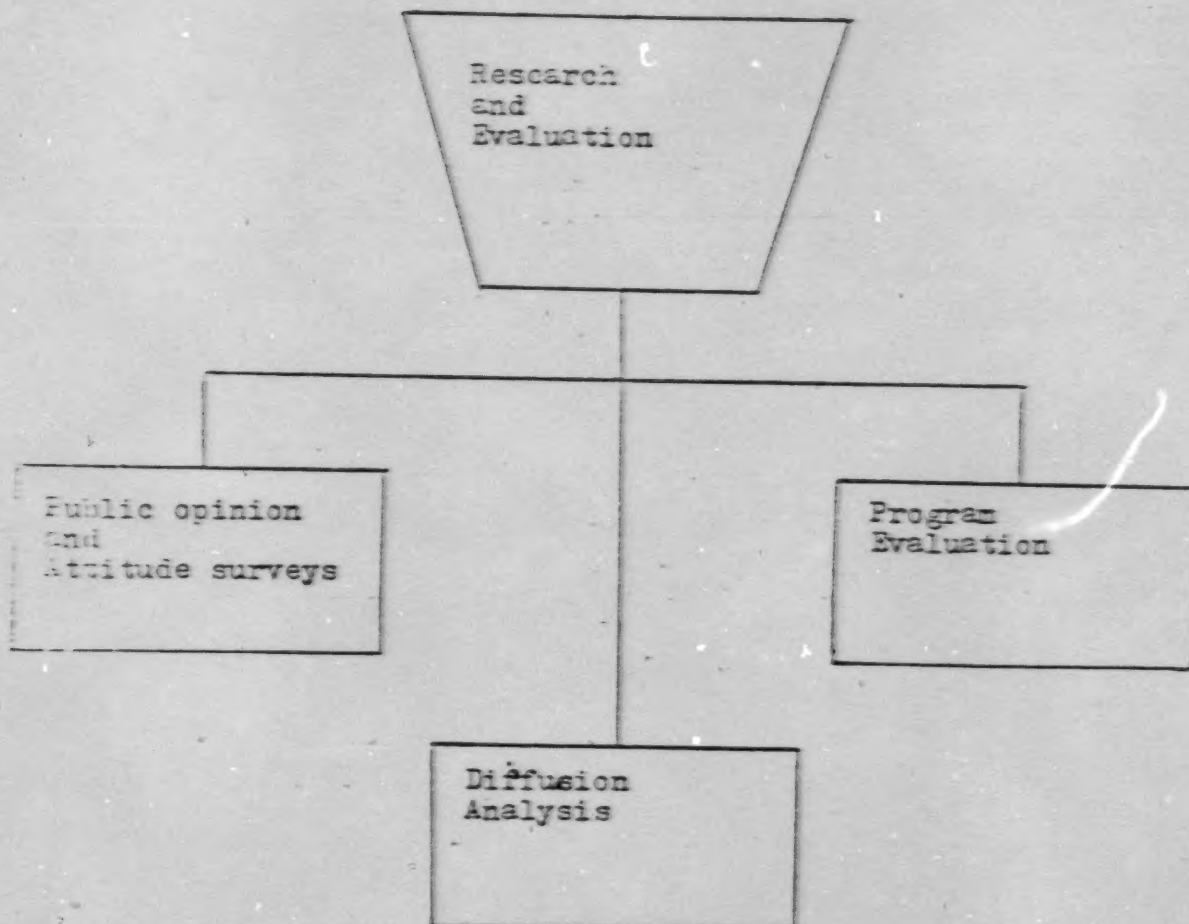


Figure 4

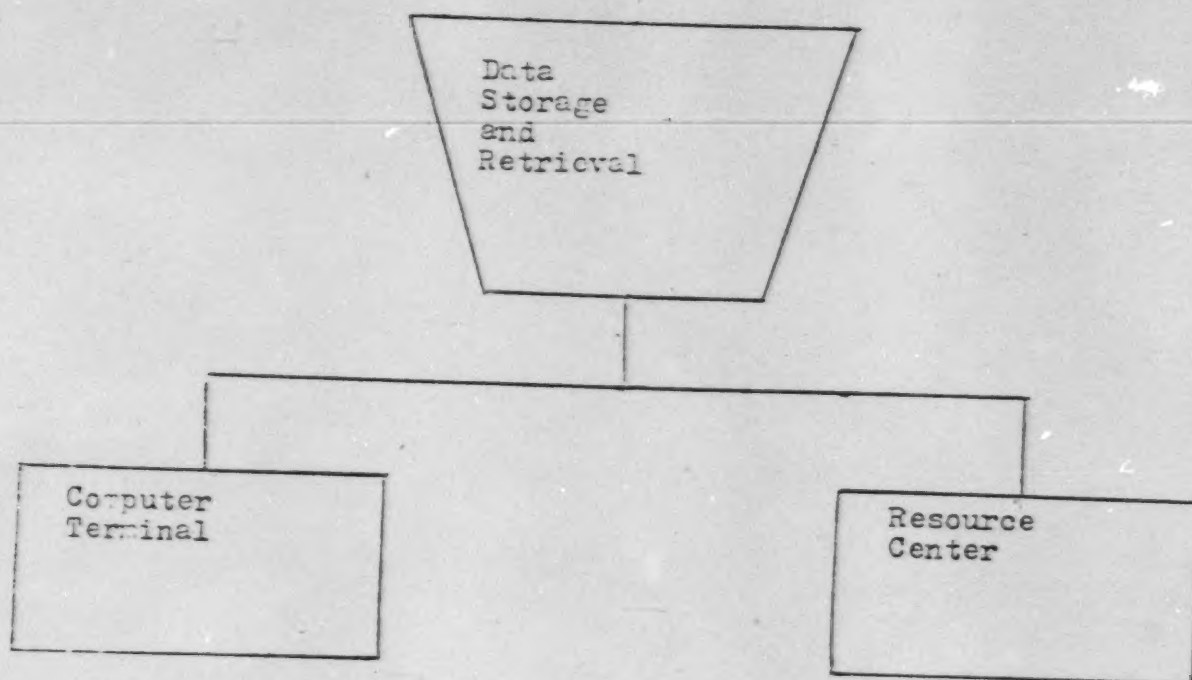


Figure 5

functions of an agency for communication and community development: planning and coordination, information and education, research and evaluation, and data storage and retrieval. If communication specialists are able to interrelate such functions from a communications perspective, our potential contribution to the community development process would be more easily recognized by planning and funding agencies. Indeed, we then should be able to convince them we are more than pamphleteers and press agents. We must do this if for no other reason than to move against increasingly fragmented programs and communities. Communication knowhow must be implemented in planning for health, education, citizen participation and even land use.

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PART 5

ASPECTS OF MEDIA AND GOVERNMENT INTERPLAY

This portion of the proceedings is probably the widest-ranging. Basically there are two major areas of discussion: special problems facing government communicators in a foreign country, and sources of friction between press and government.

Wilson P. Dizard of the United States Information Agency presents a thoughtful discussion of "Governments in a Changing World Communications Environment." His paper serves as a springboard for the following panelists: Dr. Paul B. Snider of Bradley University, Dr. Marvin Alisky of Arizona State University, John Lee of New York University and Dr. Michael H. Prosser of the University of Virginia.

The second panel discussion on friction between press and government was moderated by John Wilhelm of Ohio University, whose paper furnished a basis for comments by the following panelists: Dr. Hilton Hollstein of the University of Utah, Dr. Robert W. Pierce of the University of Florida, Dr. John D. Mitchell of Syracuse University, Dr. Elden E. Rawlings of Mankato State College, John H. Boyer of Bowling Green State University and Richard Petrow of New York University.

Panelists generally agreed that friction between press and government is very real throughout the world, although it varies considerably in degree from nation to nation. Some panelists questioned whether such friction is always in the best interests of nations striving for national identity and development. Several speakers cited examples where an imbalance between the power of press and government has not benefited the population of a given nation. Other panelists pointed out dangers where governments hold the whip hand over a supine press.

Governments in a Changing World
Communications Environment

By Wilson P. Dizard

Biographical note: Mr. Dizard is chief of operational plans and policy for the United States Information Agency. He has held positions with the U.S.I.S. in Greece, Turkey, Vietnam and Poland. In Poland, he directed the agency's cultural affairs efforts. He is the author of several books, including Television: A World View.

I hope it is not too late in the conference to add my word about the importance of your meeting. Two distinguished organizations, the Universidad Iberoamericana and the Association for Education in Journalism, have joined forces to sponsor the first international communications conference for scholars and practitioners. The openness which has characterized your discussions has set the tone for what promises to be a fruitful new area of academic cooperation across national boundaries.

I have been asked to talk about special problems facing a government communicator in a new world environment. I can, of course, speak only for the American experience; we have already heard other speakers address some Mexican concerns in this field. Historically, bureaucrats have shied away from talk about "problems." We prefer more optimistic-sounding words like "opportunities." There is, in fact, the story of one official who once informed his staff that he did not want to hear them talk about problems, just opportunities. This worked for a while, until one day when one of his assistants came to him and said that he had an insurmountable opportunity.

But, of course, communications are a problem very much on the minds of all governments, communications as a technical problem, communications as a domestic political problem in terms of public opinion, and communications as a factor in international relations. I do not have to review for this distinguished audience the political role assigned to the communications process by Jacques Ellul, Karl Deutsch, Harold Lasswell and other students of the subject. Communications are, in Deutsch's phrase, the nerves of government—more important, in his view, than the traditional restraints of raw power.

By and large, they and most other researchers in the field have studied communications at the national level. Our focus is on the international side. One aspect of this involves the study, both individually and comparatively, of the 130 or so systems outside our own countries. Secondly, it involves the study of the growing network of connections between these national systems, a research area which has blossomed in recent years as a result of the expansion of international channels. I will not belabor the obvious before this audience by detailing this growth. It has, as you know, been phenomenal. Growth estimates run from 10 to 25% a year, depending on what you include in your definition and, in particular, which groups of countries you talk about. By and large this has been a phenomenon of our own generation. Until World War II, communication at the international level was largely an elite function, involving relatively small groups of people. One does not have to reach

far to document that change that has taken place in this field in terms of tourist travel, telephone and telex traffic, mail, television and other mass media, book distribution or the growth of computer-based international data networks.

All this adds up to a political fact no government can ignore. Only a short time ago, governments could conduct their international relations between foreign offices with relatively little regard for what their respective publics thought about the issues or how they communicated about them. In an earlier age, their reaction was to distrust this factor as an intrusion into their private business. When the British Foreign Minister, Lord Palmerston, was informed about the invention of the telegraph, he replied: "My God, this is the end of diplomacy."

The old boy was right; it was the beginning of the end of diplomacy in the elitist sense of the word. He would be spinning in his lordly grave if he knew how much international communications, and particularly instantaneous transmission of news, complicated the work of present-day foreign ministers. He would not have approved. But we are children of another time, and of different values. The arrangements for a more secure and prosperous world order can no longer be the monopoly of the elitists. It is going to involve the noisy dialogue of all of us, not just the cosy conversations of the diplomats.

This has become more evident in the past decade, as the satellites and other high-capacity technologies have been put into place. The poet, Archibald MacLeish, stated the case for these technologies when he said: They make it possible for the first time in human history to reach great numbers directly and peacefully and vividly and humanely... our technology, wiser than we, has given us the unforeseen and unforeseeable means of worldwide understanding at a moment when worldwide understanding is the only means of a lasting peace.

These are, in a poet's words, the stakes involved in our discussions at this conference. Part of this problem is how governments can understand and act upon the role that these new communications and channels will play. This, in turn, can be looked at in two ways: (1) the direct actions of governments as communicators through their own official information and cultural channels, and (2) their policies and programs relating to private communications efforts by the media, telecommunications organizations and private citizens.

I would like to discuss the official activities first, because they are a relatively small and self-contained part of the overall situation. In terms of the volume of international communications, official government information and cultural activities are only a drop in the bucket when measured against the flow of nongovernmental information. Nevertheless, official government information and cultural efforts have their importance. Both the U.S. and Mexican governments, for instance, have found it useful over many years to maintain official information and cultural services in each other countries and elsewhere. The American government currently allots over a quarter of a billion dollars a year to its international information and cultural-exchange programs, operating in over 100 countries abroad. Some of these operations involve countries where, through totalitarian controls, such official information

activities are a primary source of information about outside events. But most of our activities involve countries like Mexico, where there is a heavy two-way free flow of information through many channels.

In this latter circumstance, what role can an official information service usefully play? The question is raised in a recurrent debate in the United States as to whether the official information and cultural services are not an unnecessary duplication of work that private media channels can do better. The question is a legitimate one, particularly in view of the vast expansion of communications channels in recent years. Nevertheless, there is, I believe, a role for official information efforts, a role which private information channels cannot or do not want to duplicate. It might be useful to review these areas, and whatever problems are connected with it.

To begin with, an official information service should be a primary and accurate documentary source on the policies of its government. This is a basic service, one which, if carried out properly, can be valuable to everyone concerned. Two judgments are involved here. The first is the importance of "telling it like it is," in a straightforward way, even when it involves describing policies and programs which may not be popular with your audience. The second involves presenting this material in a manner which is compatible with the political and cultural sensitivities of the audience.

These judgments also apply to the second useful role an information service represents. This is the presentation of information about the life and cultures of one's country, including those which may not reflect either official or even general views. This presents a dilemma for most governments. Thoughtful people in and out of government question why the government information service should be a transmitter of any information and ideas which do not directly reflect its views or interests, or which involves ideas and actions a majority of the population may not approve. I can recall, in the early 1950's, when our State Department sponsored the first overseas tour of George Gershwin's folk opera, "Porgy and Bess." There was an immediate outcry from some quarters about the expenditure of public funds on a play which featured, among other items, murder, rape and the depiction of shoddy conditions of American blacks in a South Carolina slum. Fortunately, the decision was made to go ahead with the project. It was a rousing success. I think those of us associated with it got our biggest lift from the comment of one drama critic in Yugoslavia who wrote: "Only a psychologically mature people would have permitted this play to be shown overseas."

Today, similar concerns are being expressed about the reporting of our domestic problems, and Watergate in particular, by our information services abroad. Our policy in this matter is, I believe, a straightforward one. It is to report news developments fairly and factually without undue emphasis and without rumor and speculation. We make the point to our audiences here in Mexico and other countries that what they are seeing is the interplay of many forces in a free society with orderly processes and that ultimately the problem will be resolved in accordance with the law. We report this in a context of a great deal of other evidence of the continuity and strength of American society.

This is done through a range of informational and cultural instruments. The one I would like to mention is the network of over 100 binational cultural centers. One of the oldest centers is here in Mexico City. The emphasis in these centers is on dialogue, on a two-way conversation that leads to clarification or cross-cultural ideas and issues. The Mexico City center and others can and do play a quiet but vital mediator role in fostering the kind of understanding that goes beyond stereotypes and other biases which still afflict healthy relations between our two cultures.

Finally, there is another role that an official information service can play. It is essentially an internal role, not involved in informational and cultural output. This is advising its own government about public-opinion and cultural trends within the host country, so these factors will be taken into consideration in developing and carrying out policies with that country. Essentially, this involves awareness of cross-cultural factors as an important element, perhaps the key element, in our relations with other countries. It is a sensitive, often elusive, factor, but this does not diminish its importance. If it is ignored, policies and programs that are, on other points, good can often be counter-productive. If cross-cultural factors are taken into consideration, it does not insure the success of a policy or an action, but it can mean that they are presented in a way that maximizes understanding and minimizes frictions based on misperceptions of the attitudes and values of the host country.

All these functions are useful and important. But as I noted earlier, the great bulk of international communications is in the private sector. I refer, of course, to communications in areas where there is freedom to communicate across borders. The distinction, of course, is still with us: countries under Communist control, involving about a quarter of the world's population, account for no more than 2 or 3% of international communications. The imbalance is a useful indicator of the continuing barriers to free flow of information.

Now it is obvious that the role of democratic governments in dealing with private-sector communications, both domestically and internationally, is a sensitive one. I can speak only for the United States, where by law and tradition, the government's role is severely circumscribed in this area. Nevertheless the importance of protecting the individual's right to communicate is not incompatible with the need to understand the overall role communications plays in the political process, both domestically and internationally.

Our concern here is with the international side, and particularly with determining the present influence and future role of communications in relations between countries. There are numerous problems--or should I say opportunities?--here.

The first is one with which many of you as academic researchers are acquainted with. It involves deficiencies in our knowledge of patterns of international communications. A great deal of useful work has been done in studying the mass media field in foreign countries. There has been ground-breaking work in comparative communications systems; witness the work done by one of the organizers of this conference, John Merrill,

and his colleague, Ralph Lowenstein, in their "Media, Messages and Men." However, research on the structure of international communications and patterns of information flow is still largely untapped. It is a field where easy assumptions outweigh careful research by a heavy margin. An important step forward was made this past year with the issuance of a monumental study of international TV programming flow by the Finnish researcher, Tapio Varis, under a UNESCO grant. It is a useful but isolated example of what needs to be done in this research area.

For instance, no one, to my knowledge, has carefully studied what has happened as a result of the introduction of communications satellites in Latin America. Until the satellites came along, as you know, there were no direct communications connections between many countries in the area; telephone and telegraph traffic between the East and West Coasts had to be routed through New York. Now they are all connected, and we know from the traffic statistics that there has been a communications explosion. But for the present, that is about all we know with any certitude.

A second problem involves our lack of knowledge about effects of international communication. The one thing we are sure of is that there has been an effect on the political, economic and cultural styles of all countries. Moreover, better communications seem to be creating a sort of third culture, over and above the old bilateral exchanges, particularly among young people. It is symbolized by bluejeans and Bob Dylan, as well as a new wave of young demands for political and social change that has an insistent and universal quality throughout the world, encouraged by communications.

We face a great area of ambivalence here. At one level, communications with foreign countries is considered highly desirable. Tourism is encouraged. Mass media products, particularly TV and films, are popular. And there are key sectors of all societies, the universities and industry in particular, which rely heavily on the flow of information and ideas from foreign sources.

Set against this, however, are darker feelings about dangers in too great a flow of communications from abroad, dangers in particular to national cultural values. It is an argument that one can hear in almost any country. A while back, for instance, a New York Times correspondent surveyed the impact of foreign media imports in Guatemala. He found strong opinions among Guatemalan intellectuals to the effect that the country's cultural integrity was being threatened by such imports. "It is an invasion," said a leading news editor. Foreign television programs are "garbage...that turns out homes into schools of violence, crime and drugs." Other Guatemalans complained about dangers of "cultural penetration" from "the colossus of the North."

The country they were referring to in their criticism was Mexico. It would not be difficult to collect similar critiques in other Latin American countries which refer to U.S. film and television products.

The new electronic technologies widen the dimensions of this kind of influence. Perhaps the most dramatic example of this in Latin America

are the arrangements which the Spanish government has with television networks in such countries as Peru, Columbia and Chile. The Spaniards provide a daily news transmission to TV networks in these countries by satellite. If one is thinking of cultural impact, the effect of this type of operation must be considerable. But just how much? The satellites are, in fact, establishing new patterns in TV programming distribution that deserve looking into. It would be easy to assume that the United States is the leading distributor of satellite television. In fact, we are number five, well behind the Spanish, French and others.

As you all know, there has been growing skepticism about the validity of effects studies, particularly with regard to the mass media, in recent years. Much of this skepticism is justified; much of the earlier research was too linear and simplistic. However, all of us would benefit from more sophisticated research in this area. It will, I know, be of particular benefit to those of us in government who need to have a better understanding of the effects of communications. This is particularly true of the charge of undue cultural influence made against countries like the United States and Mexico, which are heavy exporters of mass media materials.

It means recognizing the sensitivity of the issue, as well as the fact that the solution rests largely with the receiving country. One approach which many countries have taken is to limit, through quotas or foreign-exchange limitations, the import of foreign mass media. This is, of course, their right, but it is not necessarily the solution. There are, of course, no formula solutions other than the self-defeating one of locking up borders and jamming all radio and TV transmissions. The countries that have tried this have found that it doesn't work all that well.

We are dealing with a major evolutionary trend, in which the world communications system is becoming more integrated each year. There is, in short, going to be more intrusions at both the informational and cultural levels between all countries. No nation can survive in isolationism. Each must decide how best to utilize the new communications technologies. This calls for a new kind of sophistication and understanding. Take the question of news. For the first time, its availability is a universal factor which every government must take into consideration in its decisions. Professor Ithiel Pool of MIT has dramatized this point by noting that in recent months we may have seen a historic point in world communications integration. For the first time, he points out, the whole world is behaving as one single short-run market in the oil crisis. This is happening because of instantaneous news coverage. Economic crises in the past had worldwide effects, but they were loosely coupled, with gaps of time and style separating one country's problems from the next's. In comparison, the oil crisis is a unitary phenomenon. On the same day, governments and public opinion throughout the world are dealing with the same facts. The media reflect a common set of concerns and issues. There is little of uniquely national culture in their responses to the crisis. This reflects a kind of homogenization which has tremendous political, economic, and cultural fallout.

By and large, however, it is not the news that is criticized when

foreign commentators complain about cultural intrusion into their cultures. If American press agencies tend to dominate in international news flow, it is generally for the very good reason that their credibility and accuracy are of a high order. It would not be difficult to draw up a long list of foreign newspapers whose editorial policies reflect criticism of American policies but whose news columns rely heavily on reports from American news agencies.

The charges of "cultural intrusion" comes generally from other areas of foreign influence, particularly the more dramatic ones like television and films. It is these media where the United States tends to dominate in foreign markets. This is particularly true, of course, in television. According to the Finnish study mentioned above, the United States exports twice as much TV program hours as all other countries combined. Although the U.S. share of the market has been declining in recent years, it is and will be considerable in its impact.

The film industry is a slightly different, but only slightly different, case. The United States has, for many years, given up its distinction as the world's leading producer of films. Today India and Hong Kong, among others, have bigger film industries. But this statistic can be misleading, since the attraction and impact of American films continue strong, out of proportion to their numbers. This is another area of international media research that deserves looking into: the qualitative impact of foreign media products. A dramatic example of this has taken place in recent months in Chile, following the overthrow of the Allende government. U.S. films which were effectively banned during the Allende period are being shown to large and enthusiastic audiences for whom they represent a special attraction that cannot be measured in statistics.

Exactly how much impact do foreign films have in Chile or Mexico or the United States? Are they a threat to the cultural values of these countries to the point where restrictions should be placed on their importation? There are insistent voices which argue for such restrictions, and which have imposed them in some instances. I raise this point because it is a subject to which governments are increasingly sensitive. It is one that will be with us for some time, as part of the evolutionary trend towards more extensive world media patterns. The expansion of channels of all kinds guarantees more "foreign intrusion" at both the informational and cultural levels from here on in. There are no neat formulas for handling this situation. It is, in a very real sense, a unique event, for which there are no comparable precedents. However, there are a number of principles that will serve us well as we seek to understand and to adjust to this new situation.

One of these, I believe, is the fact that, in balance, our mutual interests are best served by widening rather than restricting the channels of information throughout the world. As I noted above, there are insistent voices which call for restrictions on information flow in the interests of cultural integrity. However well-intentioned they may be, they may be doing a disservice to their cultures by setting it in isolation from outside ideas. In a world which must bear the load of a net educational deficit, as reflected in the continued high rates of illiteracy. Our sympathies should be on the side of wider, not more narrow, information channels.

There are problems here, I agree. Is a television soap opera or a comic book a cultural asset in world media channels? My cultural sensitivities may argue "no," but my other instincts warn me about dangers in eliminating any items from international media channels, no matter how frivolous they may seem. Our best bet, in this new world of complex communications channels, favors the widest flow of information. Secondly, we need to recognize that the new international channels call for more sensitive approaches to cross-cultural communications. In the elite patterns of only a few decades ago, we could exchange professors, ballet dancers, books and the like in nice neat packages. They may have been the good old days, but they are over. In today's new communications culture, the media and other information channels touch everyone's lives throughout the world.

This puts an obligation on all of us, governments and individuals alike, to understand the impact of these changes and to adapt policies and practices accordingly. And this requires, as a key element in the process, the talents of international communications scholars such as yourself, people who will give us the facts and insights that will lead to a better understanding of the new role that communications is playing in bringing about a better world. If your meeting here this week is an indication of your ability and willingness to take on this job, then the rest of us are in luck.

Problems of U.S. Communicators Abroad

By Paul B. Snider

Biographical note: Dr. Snider is professor of journalism at Bradley University. He received his bachelor's degree at the University of Missouri, his master's at the University of Oregon and his Ph.D. at the University of Iowa. He has extensive news agency and foreign correspondent experience and has taught as a visiting professor or lecturer in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Cyprus and other countries. His research and teaching interests include international communication, news-editorial courses and press councils and press responsibility.

The following is a summary of Dr. Snider's remarks.

Dr. Snider considered problems of U.S. communicators abroad from his vantage point as an American who has frequently lived abroad. His points included:

After the obvious stipulation that the spokesman (U.S. communicator) should be conversant with the language and have some indoctrination of the history and political background of his host country, it would seem rudimentary that the spokesman have some concept of the culture of the land. He must know the intermediary sources of information beyond the media. Examples: the tribal leaders; the mukhtars (roughly equivalent to aldermen) of the Arab world; the Friday sermon (in Arab countries) does a great deal toward pointing up and crystalizing opinion, the tea (or coffee) houses where day-to-day events and issues are discussed.

The spokesman should have been exposed to some training or readings to cause him to recognize the likeness of many cultures of the world.

The spokesman must certainly be briefed and rebriefed on the many facets of "gross cultural communication," i.e., the revulsion Muslims have for dogs. Hence it is impossible to say the U.S. press is the "watchdog" of American liberty; showing the soles of shoes to another; permitting women to talk with men in some situations; asking about another's wife or family; etc.

Some questions to be directed at the U.S. spokesman:

How do you handle the problem of being the "middleman" in the Arab-Israeli, Great Britain-Rhodesia and other such conflicts?

How do you explain to the host country when high U.S. officials (senators, etc.) make statements which may be displeasing to the host country? In the same vein, when the U.S. press carries stories which are derogatory to the host country?

How do you handle yourself when your mission is caught off guard by an official announcement by your government which is displeasing to the host country and is counter to your mission's recommendations (India when the U.S. supported Pakistan in the Bangladesh affair)?

How do you explain that selling arms and ammunition to the enemies of the host country doesn't mean that you're an enemy of the host country (especially when the host country has the traditional attitude that a "friend of my enemy is an enemy to me")?

How do you conduct yourself with your host country when your ambassador brings his pet dog with him to official functions in a land where dogs are an insult? And how do you explain things to your ambassador?

How do you explain U.S. business practices to the host country and explain to U.S. businessmen that they can't do business in the host country in the same fashion they do business in the U.S.?

How do you explain U.S. public opinion polls to a host country?

How do you explain how U.S. multinational corporations operate; their interferences (alleged) in host country affairs or in the affairs of other countries (and in the U.S.)?

How do you explain when U.S. goods must be used in many cases by U.S. firms in a host country instead of local materials?

How do you explain to "do-good" organizations the ground rules of operating in host countries?

What do you do when an American corporation, brought in to advise and do great things for a host country, falls flat and does a great deal of harm (the Helmand Valley project dam in Afghanistan)?

How do you explain how a U.S. citizen in the host country as a teacher, secretary, newsman, etc., may get 10 times the salary of a national?

How do you explain the CIA's use of freelance correspondents as agents?

What do you do with an ambassador who tends to ignore advice about the host country?

The "Ugly American"—what about him?

How explain something like Watergate? How explain U.S. concern over possible local bribery?

How explain the propensity of the U.S. press to stick easy labels to such things as the "Yom Kippur War" (October 1973), when the war also started during the Moslem religious celebration of Ramadan?

Dr. Snider said that such questions could be addressed to Mr. Dizard as a U.S. communicator interested in communicating abroad. Dr. Snider noted that in his opinion the role of the international communicator-researcher is not to tell persons in a host country how to do things but to present what others are doing; to challenge nationals to establish their own goals. He said, "It is not possible to transplant palm trees to Antarctica—but they can be described."

Problems Facing a Government Communicator
in a Foreign Country

By Marvin Alisky

Biographical note: Dr. Alisky is professor of political science at Arizona State University, Tempe. Previously he was director of the journalism program at the same school and headed Arizona State's program of Latin American studies. He has done research on Latin America and its mass media for many years and has written a number of articles concerning mass communication in Latin America.

This topic of a governmental information specialist operating in a foreign nation is a welcome subject for gathering of journalism educators and students and other academicians concerned with international communications research.

Most often international communications as a subdiscipline must concern itself intensively with the problem of a news correspondent getting out of a foreign country and safely distributed back in his own country. Now this panel considers the problem of getting news into a foreign country, or rather distributed within a country to as wide and sympathetic an audience as possible.

Historically, those of us who served as foreign correspondents had to address ourselves to censorship and the related indirect hurdles to freely flowing news. The government communicator must try to project an image of his country throughout another nation to the extent the government in power there will permit, in a world beset with trade rivalries and age-old cultural confrontations.

Not as a former newsmen, but speaking currently as a political scientist, I would assert that all governments obviously propagandize among their constituents, some within the framework of a democratic society and some within the framework of a dictatorship or centralized authority. As a visiting Norteamericano, I would not abuse the hospitality of Mexico by dwelling on any example of Mexican governmental sensitivity to controversial topics written by foreigners. Rather, I would observe that currently in the United States, the Watergate controversy has encouraged some to blame the mass media for our problems. Ever since the days of ancient Persia and Greece, the king's ministers have tried to cut off the head of the messenger who brought back news of the defeat of the royal army.

Our own government in Washington seems to have the talent for stating the details about disasters in positive ways. If President Nixon's press secretary had been alive in 1912 and had described the sinking of the Titanic, he would have put it this way: "The steamship Titanic has stopped in midocean to take on ice."

The Feb. 28, 1974, issue of the Los Angeles Times reported that French bureaucrats will no longer give their names to angry citizens

receiving poor public services. One lady will not even tell her students her name, referring to herself only as "Madame Sixth Grade Teacher." Failure to communicate can take on startling overtones in public life. Also from Paris, a Feb. 26 dispatch of the Associated Press reports that the Embassy of the Peoples' Republic of China has protested to the French government about the comedy motion picture directed by Jean Yanne, which depicts a future Communist Chinese occupation of Paris. Produced in Paris with Asian students as the cast, this satire is at the expense of the French, not of the Chinese. Yet Peking is now outraged with Paris. Sensitivity to even harmless humor remains central in daily relationships among nations. Too few nations evidence a sense of humor, and too many flaunt a touchy reaction to slights, real or imagined.

May I remind us that literacy alone does not guarantee the development of political democracy or representative government? It helps but only when other cultural factors are present which combine to encourage respect for individual rights. Remember that Nazi Germany had one of the world's highest rates of illiteracy at a time when Hitler mass-murdered Jews, Poles, Gypsies and others whose cultural patterns did not fit his insane definitions of the "master race."

However, the converse of that correlation indeed can be true. That is, absence of literacy in an adult population most surely hinders development of democratic government. Without the details which printed news brings, even hourly headlines cannot give a populace enough ready information to become participating citizens in an open society. We all have a lifetime vested interest in opening mass media channels whenever and wherever we can.

The Information War

By John Lee

Biographical note: Prof. Lee is an associate professor at New York University. He received his bachelor's degree at Texas Technological University and his master's at West Virginia University. He is currently a Ph.D. candidate and visiting professor at the University of Missouri. He has many years of newspaper, magazine and photography experience in Mexico and other countries. Among his books are The Diplomatic Persuaders. His teaching and research activities include magazine journalism, international communication and news-editorial journalism.

The information explosion and the increasing availability of the mass media over the past half century have led to an unexpected diplomatic function in the embassies of the world, one that takes the form of organized, government-sponsored efforts to inform and influence foreign audiences. A new breed of diplomatic specialist has evolved to man the barricades of this information war, a specialist whose primary duty, unlike most of his embassy confreres, is not to deal with the host government but to speak directly or indirectly to the people of the host country. This man is the career press and information officer.

There was a time when the presence of this new breed of diplomatic specialist in embassies would have been unthinkable. At the turn of the century, diplomacy had settled into a rigid, formalized treatment of foreign policies. Traditional diplomats were discreet, dignified, experienced in secret negotiations, and bound by a set of unspoken rules. One rule was that governments spoke only to governments. Men in striped trousers met around broad tables in quiet rooms, carried on carefully couched dialogues, made concessions, then changed the face of the world with sweeping scratches of a pen. The average citizen was curious but not deeply concerned about foreign policy. Foreign policy was the business of governments. Diplomacy was for diplomats.

But shortly after World War I, governments found themselves confronted by a communications revolution and an upheaval of social and political awareness among the masses. Information began to expand and the man on the street suddenly began to show a deeper interest in what was happening around him.

Perhaps the most effective development of the times was that of radio. Radio was not restricted by distance, national borders or official protests. Listeners needed no special training, no special education, not even the ability to read or write. By the early 1920s, a few governments--those quick to recognize the potential power of an informed public opinion--turned to short-wave radio broadcasts and began to speak directly to the peoples of other countries in their own language, without bothering to ask the permission of governments concerned.¹ It was a radical departure at the time, and in the eyes of many old-time diplomats, an act of unspeakable vulgarity. As access to the public mind broadened with

the advent of more sophisticated media, the power of public opinion became an increasingly powerful determinant in the actions of governments. It became extremely important that governments protect themselves, that they do their utmost to make sure the opinions be informed opinions. There was no choice. More and more governments joined the parade of open discussions directed specifically to the people.

Now, 50 years later, a direct approach to the people is no longer considered radical. It has become a common fact of international life. Not only must governments be prepared to speak to their own people, or to their friends and allies, they must try to inform the people of ideologically opposed nations as well. To fail in this task is to stand tongue-tied in the face of world opinion at a time when world understanding can be crucial. Even the simple ambassadorial speech has changed. No longer confined to the brief traditional speeches pledging friendship and good faith between two countries, ambassadorial speakers are far more apt to put their words in blunt language designed to reach the public mind through the avenues of the press release or press coverage. Even diplomatic notes are frequently written in language more likely to mold or sway public opinion.² If overt release of these notes is inappropriate, they are often leaked to the press.

But most of this information war is fought by the press and information specialist in the embassy. Turn to any national capital in the world, large or small, and you will find imbedded in the embassies, the legations, the chancelleries, men whose job is to direct favorable information to the public, largely through the media of the host country. For example, in Washington, D.C. (a capital with more media representatives per square inch than any other national capital in the world), there are some 120 countries represented by diplomatic staffs. More than half (65) of these countries list officers on their embassy rolls whose primary function is the dissemination of information to the American people.³ There is a peripheral advantage as well. Because Washington offers newsmen relatively easy accessibility to information, and because it plays an important role in international matters, it is crowded with media representatives from a broad array of other countries—wire service reporters from England, France, Russia, Germany, Japan; newspaper syndicates from the Middle East, India, South America; correspondents and journalists from the great newspapers and broadcast systems of the world, as well as writers from many smaller newspapers. Consequently, embassy press officers in Washington have an open door not only to the minds of the people of the United States, but in some measure, through foreign media representatives, to people of the entire globe.

Nor are the 65 embassies which list press officers in Washington the whole story, even in that single national capital. Many embassies still list their press officers under traditional titles—"second secretary," "third secretary," etc.—while other smaller embassies, some on limited budgets, assign the information role to men with split duties. A small embassy, for example, may have a man who divides his time between cultural counseling and media contacts, while two blocks away is a larger embassy with a full staff of press officers which could rival the staff of a metropolitan daily newspaper.

Whatever name they go by--information attaché, press attaché, press counselor, third secretary, public relations counselor--these are the men who conduct the information war. They are customarily faced with a three-pronged battle plan: 1) to explain and advance the foreign policies of their home governments, 2) to clear up possible misunderstandings and combat adverse propaganda, and 3) to keep their own governments carefully informed as to the prevailing attitudes within the host country.⁴

The first two goals are a part of the continuing program aimed at generating understanding and respect from the host people, and are usually handled by standard media techniques such as press releases, advice to media personnel and press conferences. The size and seriousness of the onslaught varies widely, depending on the country and the budget backing it. The United States, a relative latecomer to the information war in that it did not formally organize its propaganda efforts until World War II with the information of the Office of War Information under journalist Elmer Davis,⁵ has since entered the fray with a passion. The United States Information Agency (USIA) employs all channels of communication. Its radio service, the Voice of America, broadcasts more than 800 hours a week to all parts of the world in some 40 languages. It publishes magazines in Russian, Polish, Arabic, French and English. The USIA motion picture and television service prepares more than 1,000 documentaries and television programs a year (an estimated 700 million people per year see the films, while the television programs have been telecast in nearly 100 countries).

At the other end of the pole are countries such as South Korea. Hard-pressed to compete with the larger, more affluent nations, the Ministry of Public Information in Seoul maintains only four overseas information offices: Tokyo, Washington, Paris and Saigon.⁷ Even so, the Korean government manages to make itself heard by employing what one Korean information officer calls "jujitsu public relations," using the impetus of the "big fellow" to improve the attack. Korean press officers frequently direct their messages to already-interested parties, such as, in the case of the United States, veterans of the Korean conflict, and businesses, group and individuals with a deep interest in the welfare of Korea and who can be relied upon to disseminate the information further.⁸

Whatever the size of the information program, the practitioners need a close working knowledge of media techniques. For this reason, many of the embassy press officers come straight from the ranks of former journalists. They are already acquainted with the battlefield. And they use their weapons well. While the burgeoning of the mass media can be said to have opened the floodgates of public opinion, it also presented oblique sluices for subverting that opinion. Frequently the diplomatic press officer is concerned only with correcting false images or misunderstandings, but it would be simplistic to suggest that his style of warfare is always a noble one, any more than the hot or cold wars he may be trying to avoid. At times the information officer finds himself faced with a jelling public opinion which runs contrary to the interests of his country and he is faced with the need to obfuscate these opinions through misdirection.

It is, of course, important that he avoid being caught in the act of

obfuscation. One lie can destroy a hundred truths which may have preceded it. To lie to the people of another country (or even to one's own people) is not unknown in the process of governing a country, but it can create an immediate crisis in credibility if it becomes open knowledge that a government is lying. Most diplomats recognize the danger of the outright lie and prefer circumlocution. The story is told of a chess-playing diplomat who, after losing three straight games, was asked by a friend how he had fared. His answer, typical of diplomatic circumlocution, was, "Well, I didn't win the first game, and my opponent didn't lose the second. As to the third game, I asked him to agree to a draw, but he wouldn't."⁹

To avoid the direct lie, some information officers will report to deft distortions, sophisticated public relations or even boisterous propaganda. And propaganda is, in spite of the adverse connotation of the word, an essential weapon in the arsenal of any information program. No government can be condemned for using it. It is clearly the object of any government that its actions and policies be viewed in the best possible light. The big difference comes when propaganda is based on deliberate, flagrant falsehood. Euphemisms or exaggerations may be found in propaganda or press releases from almost any quarter, but propaganda based on the direct lie, until recently, has been almost exclusively the domain of totalitarian states such as Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia, both of which made use of the "big lie." An incredible phenomenon of the 60s was that open-society governments were caught indulging in the act of lying about their policies to the people of the world. Two very awkward such instances arose when the United States was caught with its falsehoods showing after the U-2 incident and the Bay of Pigs invasion. These deceptions cost the United States an immeasurable loss in international trust. Perhaps equally important, the administrations responsible for these lies lost a measure of confidence from their own people.¹⁰

Obviously a press or information officer on foreign soil is not always informed by his government that a lie from higher up is just that, a lie. Even when he possesses full information he cannot always be expected to open up completely and disclose to the public each and every decision, action or inaction of his home government. But if he cannot always release full information, what he does release, according to one experienced press officer, should always be unfailingly true. It becomes a matter of telling nothing but the truth—perhaps not always the whole truth, but always only the truth.¹¹

Not only do embassy press officers face difficulties if they are caught lying or withholding information, some find it difficult ever to get started at all. Communist embassy officers, for example, feel their pronouncements are automatically disbelieved in western countries. Miloslav Chrobok, while serving in the Czechoslovakian embassy in Washington, D.C., lamented this mental roadblock by saying, "Every piece of information our embassy releases, every Czechoslovak film run in the States, and every book published here by us is an open invitation for a close scrutiny and may very easily be labeled 'communist propaganda.'"¹² His sentiments were echoed by another former embassy press officer, Cvijeto Job of Yugoslavia, who said, "You can talk about the iron curtain or the silk curtain or the bamboo curtain all you want. It can be just

as difficult breaking through the democratic curtain."¹³

Nor does it necessarily help to be an old friend of the host government. Some embassy information men seem to feel that the very act of friendship can also lead to indifference, a state of "being taken for granted." Al Valencia, a Philippine newsmen who has spent more than 20 years in Washington, serving at various times as an embassy press counselor under five Philippine presidents, has said, "The main problem that faces me as a Press Counselor in Washington is not how to deal with a hostile press, but rather how to get the American press to notice us."¹⁴ A South American embassy officer finds the same difficulties. He complains that his country, as well as all his Latin American neighbors, must fight a constant battle against indifference. He has suggested wryly that "people...will do everything for Latin America except read about it."¹⁵

Even when the information officer catches the attention of the media and public he is trying to reach, much of his time is spent combating vague but widely held folk myths about his country. Francisco Lara, who serves as a press officer for Venezuela, compares this time-consuming chore to jousting with windmills. He says, "Like Don Quixote, who devoted his life to correcting misdeeds, the cultural attaches and information directors of...embassies devote their working hours to correcting misconceptions and misunderstandings about their own countries."¹⁶ One possible reason for these misconceptions is the tendency of some newsmen to use catchy phrases which eventually, through overuse, become a kind of "instant label." Consequently, an embassy press officer may open the pages of a newspaper on any day and find his country referred to as "Hindu India," in spite of the fact that India has 55 million Muslims, 15 million Christians, a million Sikhs and a sizeable population of Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Jews and others¹⁷; or a reference to the "socialist" government in Sweden, based on the simple fact that the labor government of Sweden is called the "Social-Democratic Labor Party"¹⁸; or even the perpetuation of old trite images gleaned from fiction and movies. Paul H. G. Wright, director-general of British Information Services in the United States, commenting on just such a collection of prevalent myths, says many Americans still think "that the British are stuffy; that they wear monocles and Bowler hats, and are all lords and ladies; that they all mumble and drawl, live in the past, are usually dressed up in some fancy kind of costume, and live in drafty castles with no central heating (and certainly no plumbing); that they all have a stiff upper lip and never show any emotion; that all men smoke a pipe and read the London Times."¹⁹ The point he is making is that although increasing travel and widening knowledge are exploding many other myths, some still exist. And they can be barriers to understanding.

No channels are overlooked, big or little, in the effort to reach the public. Embassy personnel not only deal with the media, they spend time talking to school groups and to women's clubs, they edit small weekly newspapers which are sent to selected audiences, they conduct embassy tours, they handle routine phone calls from newsmen who are about to visit their countries and wonder what to wear, and they answer hundreds of letters a week from assorted citizens (including one type of letter which all embassy men lament arrives too frequently, the missive from a school child which

reads, "Dear Sir, please send me all available information on your country as I am doing a term project for my class. Please hurry this information as my report is due next week."

But not all of their chores are small ones, nor are all their battles difficult. Frequently, as in any war, the press officer may walk away with major victories. Media men, only human, may accept his advice or run his press pronouncements or air his television programs without question. And the common denominator, the man on the street, may find his mind being molded, his attitudes changing, without ever knowing the source, without actually realizing that there are such men constantly at work to improve the images of their countries.

Two things are vital for the common man. First, that he recognize that there are countless press officers from other governments relentlessly pursuing his mind, working to impress him, to mold his opinions, to change his attitudes. An awareness that this is quietly taking place is necessary if the average man is to avoid making incompetent judgments. To accept the proffered information without knowing its source, without knowing always whether it is accurate and fair, or possibly glossed over by men with vested interests and offered to him without adequate identification, may easily lead him astray. Misuses and abuses of persuasive devices do occur. Minds can be molded and thoughts manipulated by diplomatic practitioners.

The second point, just as vital, is that the average man attach no blame to governments for using the device. All governments do it. They must, to exist. Nor is the use of persuasion restricted to governments. It is a natural human trait to strive constantly to better one's image. The man on the street does it himself on a microcosmic scale. He is usually quick to tell his friends, his neighbors, his relatives that his salary is being increased, or he is buying a new car. He is just as quick to keep to himself the fact that he is having quarrels with his wife, or that he may be sacked from his job. The ordinary man does it largely as a matter of ego-satisfaction. Nations do it because if they do not persuade, they may very well perish.

Walter Lippman, writing in the Washington Post, once said:

...it is not true that in the real world of affairs a great power, even the strongest, can afford to ignore the opinions of others. It cannot overawe them all. It must have friends who trust it and believe in it and have confidence that its power will be used wisely.²⁰

This is what the diplomatic information specialist is after: trust, confidence, understanding. The only danger lies in how he strives for it. And if enough people recognize the existence of this quiet war for public attitudes, the danger of being wrongly influenced is minimized.

Footnotes

¹Robert Akers, "An Indispensable Diplomacy," Diplomatic Persuaders, edited by John Lee (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1968), p. 4.

²John Lee, "Preface," Diplomatic Persuaders, ibid., p. x.

³Akers, ibid., p. 3.

⁴Lee, ibid., pp. xi-xii.

⁵Thomas C. Sorenson, The Word War (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 10.

⁶Akers, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

⁷Po Sung Kim, "Jujitsu Public Relations," ibid., p. 178.

⁸Lee, ibid., p. xiii.

⁹William McGaffin, Erwin Knoll, Anything but the Truth (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1968), p. 64.

¹⁰Bruce Ladd, Crisis in Credibility (New York: The New American Library, 1968), p. 85.

¹¹Sven Frychuis, "Sweden—Land of Sin, Suicide, and Socialism," Diplomatic Persuaders, op. cit., p. 22.

¹²Miloslav Chrobok, "Promoting Czechoslovakia in the United States," ibid., p. 109.

¹³Lee, ibid., p. xiii.

¹⁴A. L. Valencia, "How It's Done," ibid., p. 49.

¹⁵Francisco Lara, "The Fight Against Misunderstanding," ibid., p. 31.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Aqil Ahmad, "Instant Labels: Instant Trouble," ibid., p. 78.

¹⁸Frychius, ibid., p. 27.

¹⁹Paul H. G. Wright, "The Streamlining of John Bull," ibid., p. 88.

²⁰Sorensen, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

Remarks by Michael H. Prosser

Biographical note: Dr. Prosser is a professor in the Department of Speech Communication at the University of Virginia. He is active in the International Communication Association. He is editor of Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples and the author of several scholarly articles.

The following is a summary of Dr. Prosser's remarks.

Government international communicators are involved in a type of manipulation—for good or ill, according to Dr. Prosser. The terms "manipulation" and "propagandizing" have come to have bad connotations in the minds of many persons, but there may be ethical and unethical ways of manipulating and propagandizing, he said.

On the international level, very little can be done to stop manipulation and propaganda, he said. One solution some have proposed is a "wide open borders" solution where each nation makes no efforts to keep out messages. Programs and ideas would compete for the attention of the inhabitants of all countries, and the most attractive or strongest ones would win out, Dr. Prosser said. He added, however, that such an open borders effort was unlikely. He pointed to several arrangements between specific nations where open borders have increased the flow of communication—the United States and Canada, for example.

Dr. Prosser then discussed examples of three types of American government manipulators or manipulation programs. The first was the hiring by the U.S. government of a returned son of a U.S. diplomat to help ease the culture shock of returning children of government employees re-entering the United States after "living the good life" of Americans overseas. Some efforts of the person engaged to work in the program questioned the ethics of the activity, Dr. Prosser said.

Another example of government manipulation is the U.S. Peace Corps program, he said. Training is now based more and more on giving Peace Corps employees guidance in favorably influencing persons within the host country, he said. It was found that training Peace Corpsmen on U.S. university campuses did not bring them in close enough contact with the culture of the host country, and for that reason training now takes place in simulated host countries. For example, Peace Corps training for Latin America is now given in Puerto Rico, he said.

The third example of a manipulations program of the government is the U.S. Navy's Human Relations Growth Program, Dr. Prosser said. Navy personnel and their families are now given several weeks of indoctrination and training in understanding the culture and conditions of nations where they will be stationed. The program is located in Coronado, Calif., and all personnel and their families are now required to take it. With such training, the Navy is seeking to create a better image of Americans abroad, he noted.

Manipulation and propagandizing are not the province of just the

government, for all individuals manipulate and propagandize others, he explained. Although Americans may not like certain parts of their system or culture, they are in effect manipulators and propagandists for their own system when they travel abroad, Dr. Prosser said.

Remarks by John R. Wilhelm

Biographical note: Professor Wilhelm is dean of the College of Communication at Ohio University. He has had extensive reporting experience as a foreign correspondent. He has served as president of the Overseas Press Club of America. His main teaching and research interests are foreign correspondence, magazine journalism and mass communication. His Guide to Mexico City is in its 15th edition. Prof. Wilhelm received his bachelor's degree from the University of Minnesota.

The following is a summary of Prof. Wilhelm's remarks.

Prof. Wilhelm proposed that a model of press-government friction be considered: at one end of the spectrum would be "zero conflict" between press and government; at the other end would be "100% conflict." He noted that the United States currently comes close to 100% conflict, but that many nations are at the other end of the scale. He noted that while he worked in Mexico he did not notice a great amount of press-government conflict, although he had high praise for Mexico's journalists.

The new nation of Malaysia, where Prof. Wilhelm has visited extensively, would be considered a good example of a nation with zero conflict between government and the press. There is little press freedom in Malaysia, and this has posed a problem for North Americans setting up two new schools of mass communication in Malaysia. Americans tend to see a great need for freedom of the press and conflict, yet it may be that some nations at certain stages of development are served better by zero conflict, Prof. Wilhelm said. Such a situation might exist where a new nation is exerting its efforts and resources to create a viable country. Hopefully, press-government developments would move toward a freer relationship, but Americans should not think that their system of press-government conflict is always best, he said.

Remarks by Milton Hollstein

Biographical note: Dr. Hollstein is a professor at the University of Utah. He has had extensive reporting and editing experience on several newspapers including the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times and the National Observer. Some of his research and teaching interests are editing, magazine writing, press and society and international communications. He received his bachelor's degree from Utah, his master's from Columbia and his Ph.D. from Iowa.

The following is a summary of Dr. Hollstein's presentation.

As the first panel member following Moderator Wilhelm's comments, Dr. Hollstein sought to give an overview of the press-government adversary relationship as practiced in democratic societies. He noted that there is always a good bit of tension between the government and press in such societies and that such tension is generally considered healthy. Both the press and the government are concerned about the same thing—sound programs for the country. In Dr. Hollstein's opinion, officialdom has generally been willing to suffer for the sake of a free press, although not necessarily so during the present U.S. administration or perhaps during the Kennedy period. Current outright efforts at controlling the press as exercised by the Nixon administration are considered as atypical by Dr. Hollstein. Generally officials have seemed to consider the press as a "necessary but meddlesome balance wheel," he said.

Some criticism leveled at the press by government leaders have included allegations that there is too much "conflict news"—news of the dissident and the recalcitrant. And, too, government officials claim the press does not give satisfactory explanations of government programs; nor does the press give needed feedback to them on how programs are being carried out and received.

Such "putdowns" of the press foster an elitist view which is at variance with the adversary system, Dr. Hollstein said. As the elitist view is adopted by government leaders, more attempts are made to control the press. When such attempts are carried to extreme, a supine press may result.

Some persons now think that the adversary relationship between press and government has tilted in favor of the government, Dr. Hollstein said. But he believes there is some redress in the imbalance since Watergate.

Reporters, editors and publishers are going to have to be more penetrating, however, to help restore the press within the relationship. Traditional, clichéd news values need to be rethought, he said. And the press is going to have to be more adaptable to contemporary needs if it is to keep the support of society.

Remarks by Robert N. Pierce

Biographical note: Dr. Pierce is an associate professor in the College of Journalism and Communications at the University of Florida. He has carried out research and teaching in several countries, including Costa Rica and Argentina. He has had extensive media experience as a reporter and editor. He received his bachelor's degree from Arkansas State, his master's from Texas and his Ph.D. from Minnesota. Research and teaching interests include international communication, history of journalism and mass communication and society.

The following is a summary of Dr. Pierce's presentation.

Dr. Pierce noted that a common sight in Mexico along the country's roads are shrines erected to unfortunates killed in accidents, which send a chill through visitors to the country. The political thoroughfares of various nations also have their monuments to tragedy, tragedies in the relationship between press and government. Dr. Pierce cited the example of President Richard Nixon's well-known speech in which he lashed out at the press, saying, "You've had a lot of fun...but you won't have Nixon to kick around any more." Dr. Pierce considered the example as a classic illustration of a politician's misunderstanding of the role of the press, and also of the press bias shown against a particular candidate.

Such differences between the press and government leaders occur in all countries, he said. The differences, however, vary in degree. He asked whether there should be friction between government and press and noted that often the people suffer from such friction. He cited government suppression of the press in Argentina and Chile, and problems of press operation in Panama as recent examples where the public is damaged by press friction. Both sides often lose sight of what it is they are fighting for in the "war of words," Dr. Pierce said.

He also noted the difference in social and professional status between interactors in the government-press relationship. Editorial and column writers--the "ivory tower people"--are among the intellectual elite in Latin America. But the working newsmen too often are deficient in education and in status. Government spokesmen often show disdain for the working press, feeding handouts to the reporters, and the reporters do little more than slap a lead on the material given to them, Dr. Pierce said. Editorialists frequently will not "soil their hands" by gathering news themselves.

In Latin America, government officials frequently intimidate reporters and photographers, not perceiving any status in their calling, the speaker explained. Such treatment may result in trivial reporting when reporters do not have access to important news. Inaccuracies and rumors may result from too little information from government, he said.

Dr. Pierce also criticized the press for failing too often to consider itself in the special light of a "second government" or Fourth Estate. "They see themselves as just another institution, like the church or education," he said. The idea of real investigative reporting is not generally entertained

or practiced in Latin America. He noted that he based his remarks on much time spent in Latin America and on a recent six-month trip when he talked to news media personnel, government officials and others.

Remarks by John D. Mitchell

Biographical note: Prof. Mitchell is chairman of the newspaper department in the School of Public Communication, Syracuse University. He received his bachelor's degree at Oberlin College and his master's at Kansas State University. His media experience has included reporting and editing for both newspapers and radio. His teaching and research specialties are reporting, international communication, editing and journalism history.

Most discussions of friction between the press and government in the United States seem to concern frictions that arise out of the so-called watchdog function of the press. Most such discussions seem to emphasize friction and conflict that are results of attempts by the press to deal in news that the government does not want reported and attempts by the government to prevent or at least discourage such press performance. Sometimes such friction is generated by grave issues. The Pentagon Papers friction certainly was an example of that, involving as it did matters of peace and war and public policy and national security and that inevitable conflict between government and press that many see as the basic social tension that provides the vitality necessary to maintain an open, democratic society.

Sometimes the conflicts are linked with basic definitions of the role of press and journalist in the United States, with whether institutions and individuals who compose that category called "the press" have legal standing superior to institutions and individuals that are not part of the press. The many cases involving subpoenas issued to force reporters to turn over material and provide testimony before investigative bodies--and especially to grand juries--exemplify this.

Sometimes the conflicts are more personal in their origins. A government official may react on a quite personal basis. One thinks of such examples as President Kennedy ordering cancellation of White House subscriptions to the New York Herald Tribune. More recently--and more seriously--one thinks of what appears clearly to have been White House efforts to uncover information that might prove embarrassing to network news correspondent Daniel Schorr. And sometimes the friction may be generated by a very personal reaction on the part of some member of the press. It has been as personal as the order by Col. Robert Rutherford McCormick that banned the name of Chicago Mayor William Hale Thompson from the columns of the Chicago Tribune after the assessed valuation of the Tribune Tower real estate had been increased.

But I want to call attention to a different kind of friction and conflict. It seems a kind that is not based on a difference in views of the proper role of the press or on the inevitability of conflict between government and press or on personalities. It seems based on a fearful rejection of what a particular organization or person is seen to stand for. And it seems something that is overlooked to at least some extent by the press itself. I am referring to that kind of friction the so-called alternative or minority press has encountered. My thesis is that this friction is generated not by specific performance but by the fact that the major thrust

involved is toward minority and or developmental themes, that this friction is an indicator of cross-cultural conflicts in a pluralistic society.

In their recently published Other Voices: The New Journalism in America, Everett E. Dennis and William L. Rivers have included a concise discussion of such friction and conflict involving government and the so-called underground press. They recount stories of police harassment and legal charges brought against underground papers on what at best could be called flimsy pretexts. One such case was the charge brought against the Los Angeles Free Press and its publisher, Art Kunkin, after the paper published a list of names of narcotics agents working in California. The charge was receiving stolen property--the list of agents had been sold to the paper by a clerk who took it from the attorney general's office. Some of us will recall that the subsequent conviction was overturned by the California Supreme Court on the grounds that the defendants had no way of knowing the list was stolen. On the other hand, one might note certain parallels with the Pentagon Papers case. On the other hand, one might recall that there was a general springing to the barricades in defense of newspapers which acquired and published the Pentagon Papers, while such a general defense on the part of the general journalism profession was notably lacking in the Free Press case.

Dennis and Rivers also recall the Forcade case. That was the one in 1971 in which Tom Forcade was denied a press pass to cover the White House. Forcade was Washington correspondent for the Underground Press Syndicate, an alternative press news service, and was described by the White House staff as a security threat. He found little support among members of the White House Correspondents Association, and Editor & Publisher noted in a story on the refusal of the press pass that "Forcade's predilection for sudden acts of violence are well known." Then came the specifics: "He once threw a pie in the face of Otto Larsen, a member of the United States Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, and two years ago, during the Sigma Delta Chi convention in San Diego, he heaved an empty water glass at the press table, narrowly missing the Editor & Publisher reporter."

I am suggesting that such frictions--ones operating to the detriment of the journalists involved and not frequently decried or apparently even noted by the so-called establishment or mainstream press--are frequent and often generally condoned. I became conscious of this especially during the past three years, when experiences I became aware of in Colorado directed my thinking into the area I now am discussing. In three of the cases I shall mention briefly, the conflict was governmental, against the press. In the fourth case--and possibly the most interesting one--the conflict involved sanctions brought by a paper against a community development activist and official.

Possibly the oddest case involved a United Press International reporter and the Colorado House of Representatives. The reporter, Stephen Gascoyne, was certainly in mainstream journalism as a reporter assigned by the Denver UPI bureau to cover the Colorado legislature. At the same time he was interested in and attracted to the so-called counter culture. This was evident in his appearance as he let his hair and beard grow and adopted bluejeans, blue work shirt, denim jacket and peace beads as his usual working garb. This so upset a majority of the Colorado representatives that they adopted

a formal resolution that denied Gascoyne access to the floor of the house, including a place at the press table. The resolution was reconsidered and withdrawn after a day or two, but the main thrust of the press' predictable indignation over the resolution was that the legislature had no right or authority to tell established news organizations which of their employees were acceptable to the legislators. There was a notable sidestepping of the counter-culture aspect of the matter.

It was not long after that, incidentally, that Gascoyne and UPI management mutually agreed he had little future at UPI. When I last saw him, late last summer, he was clean-shave, trim of hair and conventionally dressed, and he now reports and writes for Cervi's Journal, a semi-muck-raking business weekly in Denver, and Straight Creek Journal, a Boulder weekly oriented to the counter culture.

Straight Creek Journal has encountered two areas of government friction, both of which involved conflict with what one might call a government-press combination--or maybe even conflict with the Establishment, including Establishment press. One involved election coverage. Boulder election officials had made arrangements to use the computer of a downtown bank in tallying local election results, and reporters from the local daily newspaper and radio station were on hand to keep track of the tally as it came in and was processed in the computer. But the Straight Creek Journal reporter was not allowed in. Failure to make advance arrangements and a lack of room were the reasons cited. Support from the daily newspaper and radio station for the idea that the Straight Creek Journal reporter had any journalistic right of access was prominent by its absence. All this was noted in an article in The Unsatisfied Man, the Denver-based Colorado journalism review, and then The Unsatisfied Man got a letter in which the Boulder correspondent for the Denver Post defended the barring of the reporter.

The other area of friction had to do with press cards. Press cards are seldom if ever used in Colorado outside of Denver, but they are useful to have when dealing with law enforcement officers and firemen in emergency situations. Through an informal arrangement, for approximately 15 years now the Colorado Press Association--the state organization of daily and weekly newspaper publishers and editors--has acted as a clearinghouse for issuing press cards by the Denver manager of safety. The procedure has been for applications to go to the press association office, for cards to be prepared there, for them to be sent to the office of the Denver manager of safety for his signature, and then for his office to issue them to the applicants--all this in order to gain passage through Denver police and fire emergency lines. For years applications were processed without reference to whether the applicant's employer was a Colorado Press Association member, but Straight Creek Journal staff members report having their applications rejected on the ground that their publication is not a CPA member.

Straight Creek staffers have not been alone in having press card problems. There is the even more intriguing case of Clarke Watson. He is managing editor for Thomas Publications, which consist of Key, a local monthly magazine, and Pollution Control Journal, an environmental monthly. But in his own words, "I am a Watson. Clarke Reed Watson to be exact--a

black man. My relationship with the Denver Police Department, ever since I was arrested and jailed at 15 for discharging a 3-cent lady-finger fire-cracker on the Fourth of July, has been one of mutual contempt and intense dislike." Clarke Watson also is the brother of Loren Watson, well-known Denver black activist and a former Denver organizer for and head of the local Black Panther chapter. Clarke Watson also is a discharged convict, having completed a state penitentiary term for a felony conviction in a check case. And Clarke Watson now is apparently the first person ever to have an application for a press card refused by a Denver manager of safety.

That happened because the manager of safety decided he would not approve press cards for persons with felony convictions. Watson then sought support from the Colorado Press Association, which of course was the organization that had forwarded his application to the manager of safety for endorsement in the first place. The CPA appointed a credentials committee, the committee had Watson appear before it and the committee then sent Watson a letter telling him he would get no help from the CPA. Signed by the committee chairman, the letter notified Watson that "the committee has decided to advise the issuing agency not to authorize issuance of the credentials." Then came what I can only consider one of the most astounding pronouncements I have ever heard of a press organization making:

"You should be apprised that the committee felt the circumstances of your personal vicissitudes were such that they negated any rights to endorsement by this body of your claim to eligibility for press credentials."

In other words, the Colorado Press Association decided through its credentials committee that a felony conviction makes one thereafter ineligible for full press privileges in Colorado.

And then there is the former newsmen who went back to be a community organizer in his small Colorado home town. Terry Marshall is a University of Colorado journalism graduate, as is Gascoyne and the managing editor of Straight Creek Journal. Marshall also is a former managing editor of the campus student daily newspaper and a former editor of an Arizona weekly. He left news work to volunteer for the Peace Corps, and he and his wife served for two years in the Philippines. Then he got a University of Wisconsin master's degree in rural sociology and went back to Center, a declining farm town in Colorado's San Luis Valley. There he was an organizer of the Saguache County Community Council and spent two and a half years as director of its Head Start educational program for pre-school children. He also was instrumental in organizing a Health Start program, a free community clinic serving the Chicano population primarily. (Sixty percent of the approximately 1,300 persons in Center are Mexican-Americans, Chicanos in the local terminology.)

While he held no town office, he was by virtue of his Head Start position at least to a degree a part of government. And there was government and press friction, although of an unusual kind. The conflict was that the town's weekly newspaper, the Center Post-Dispatch, for months virtually ignored any local news involving the community council, Head

Start, Health Start and the Chicano community and even a strike against the major San Luis Valley lettuce producers in the summer of 1970. And then when it started carrying such local news, the stories often had a clear "anti" edge to them. Possibly most clearly illustrative of this was an 80-column-inch news feature written by the Post-Dispatch's publisher when Marshall resigned as Head Start director. Two excerpts can serve to indicate the tone. One referred to Marshall's ancestry:

"Although he described his ancestry (sic) as mongrel-American, he recollects grade school days when he submitted a paper acknowledging Scotch, Irish and Dutch descent which certainly cannot be construed as the key to why he chooses to find his followers primarily among minorities."

The other referred to economics and materialism:

"Although Terry was helped via the scholarship route to an education in the top university of the State of Colorado, a product of the capitalistic system, he shuns the capitalistic incentive today. He says he is not motivated by money, pointing to his salary which runs to about \$4,000 annually as proof while, strangely enough, at the same time pointing out he thinks his greatest Head Start achievement is the \$16,000 in free materialistic tools he has been able to collect from government surpluses for Head Start...And although he shuns the materialistic incentives, with the exception of his school years and one year as editor of the Glendale, Arizona, newspaper, he has been making his living from government funds, and primarily, (sic) funds designed for welfare purposes, and funds that can only come from the pockets of taxpayers."

In summary, then, I suggest that too little attention is paid to press-government friction as related to cross-cultural variables. I argue that we see this in the debate, for example, over shield laws. We see it in the enthusiasm with which many spokesmen for the Establishment press endorse such laws and see no problem in legal definitions of reporters that clearly would or do exclude many persons and papers new to the journalistic scene, and especially ones concerned primarily with minority and/or development themes, issues and audiences. Press and government probably should see themselves to some extent as enemies in a free society. Press and press, however, never should see themselves that way, for without a free and pluralistic press there can not be a free and pluralistic society.

Remarks by Elden E. Rawlings

Biographical note: Dr. Rawlings is chairman of journalism at Texas Christian University. He received his bachelor's degree at Eastern New Mexico University, his master's at Oklahoma and his doctorate at Syracuse. He has done research in Colombia at the University of the Andes, Bogota. He has had many years of experience in reporting for newspapers and magazines. Some of his teaching and research interests are writing/editing, mass media and society, and international communication. He received a Fulbright lectureship to organize the journalism program in 1975 at the University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica.

The following is a summary of the presentation of Dr. Rawlings.

Dr. Rawlings noted that the amount of press-government friction is very real throughout the world and it is useful to investigate how the degree of friction is related to different publics within a nation. He proposed looking for a model which might give hints on any relationship between the amount of such friction with the various audiences of the media, from a multinational viewpoint.

Politicians and the press operate on the assumption of what their publics think of them, yet their actions often are ordered along different philosophic lines. This creates increasing conflict between press and government and societies which are becoming increasingly pluralistic, he said.

While the essential body of the established press is rather conservative and given to considerations of social responsibility, there is also the press embracing the libertarian view. Dr. Rawlings believes that trying to look at people who support differing voices in the press may be helpful. He said some groupings of individuals proposed by a social psychologist at the University of Michigan may be helpful to mass communication research efforts. The psychologist, Dr. Rawlings said, sees the groupings as a key to understanding what parts of society will be able to utilize new technological innovations. The four groupings are:

- (1) The "Embracers": This is the only group which will really embrace the new technology. This group is sympathetic to the organizational setting and is personally open, involved and interested and will use information-retrieval systems. But members of the group, while willing to use innovations, are overwhelmed by the proliferation of information.
- (2) The "Rejectors": This group is turned off by much of society as a whole and has sought to get into other life styles.
- (3) The "Indifferent": This group is generally reasonably affluent and has enough to meet its needs and wants. It is politically apathetic, although it will be roused when established life patterns are in danger and will lash out ineffectually at those endangering their comfortable existence. These persons represent

an increasingly sensate, hedonistic culture, and they are not apt to be very concerned with philosophies or ideas.

- (4) The "Inadequates": This is the "out" group—people who are unable to read or communicate and who cannot be full participants in a society because of inadequate education and discrimination.

Dr. Rawlings said there may be important implications for the study of mass communication in various cultures when these different groups are considered. Some hypotheses for study might include: the press doesn't understand its publics very well; the government depends heavily on public indifference to remain in power; and there will be increasingly sensate cultures and because of this, most will be indifferent to the loss of press freedom; such groups as Common Cause and "Nader's people" may represent both "Embracers" and "Rejecters."

Consideration of these different groups by mass media and mass communications researchers may help gain more knowledge concerning publics and what portion of a society is accounted for by each specific group, Dr. Rawlings explained.

Remarks by John H. Boyer

Biographical note: Prof. Boyer is acting director of the Department of Journalism, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. He received his bachelor's degree from Michigan State and his master's from Bradley. He has had experience in news-editorial departments, and his teaching and research specialties include editorial writing and editorial page direction and international communication.

There is a growing need to re-evaluate the idea of the adversary relationship in coverage of government by the press. It is conventional journalistic wisdom that somehow newsmen must serve the First Amendment as adversaries of government (and by government we usually mean the executive branch). It is also conventional wisdom that reporters must get along with sources. So we find ourselves inconsistently observing the convention of never quoting the President directly in respect to his office while acting abrasively to the man in that office. As Ben Bagdikian observes,¹ we massage antiadministration forces in Congress to develop information on the Executive, whose cooperation we have managed to cut off with our definitions.

I suspect that much of our problem has to do with the way we confront the job of information gathering, and that the First Amendment does not require so much heat at the expense of light and that the adversary role may be dysfunctional to the information job. This does not mean we must yield to government. Quite the contrary, it means we must take another view of what government is and how we can assess it, whether there be friction or not.

The understandings which evolved from the adversary role idea tend to cloud real distinctions of government issues and hamper what should be considered the monitoring function of the press. Further, they permit the objects of press disclosure to adopt the rules of injured adversaries and act as though there is some sort of combat in progress, not disclosure of public concern.

Let me illustrate with an occurrence at Bowling Green in the last two weeks. A reporter of our campus newspaper, while voting in a student body election, observed that there was campaign literature in the polling booths. Alerted, she watched election workers check registration validation slips but not ID cards of student voters. Somewhat disgruntled, she returned to the office and discussed the matter with members of the staff. The upshot was that six staffers decided to test the system. They obtained from students who did not intend to vote registration validation slips and used them to obtain ballots. On each ballot, they stamped the name of the campus newspaper and deposited it in the ballot box. They returned to the office and notified election officials of what they had done.

¹"Congress and the Media: Partners in Propaganda," Columbia Journalism Review, Jan.-Feb., 1974, pp. 3-10.

The response, as you might guess, was immediate. The whole election system was placed under a cloud. The first call I received the following morning was from a student leader who wanted to know how he could get the editor removed. Within a day, he and another student officer had prepared and filed a statement of charges against four of the six campus reporters, asking that they be expelled from the university. Somehow the dysfunction in the election system got lost. It was the act of demonstrating it that became the point of issue.

It is in its way a kind of microcosm of the greater world outside the campus. First Amendment considerations to the side, is that not what has been going on for sometime when a governmental official is confronted with a journalistic embarrassment? Remember, John F. Kennedy once sought the firing of David Halberstam because of disquieting dispatches from Vietnam. And Harry Truman called a reviewer an S.O.B. when he criticized Margaret's singing. So, even Presidents see their relationship with the press as a kind of combat.

If the adversary idea's only limitation was that it tended to oversimplify government, blurring distinctions and shadings, it would be inefficient enough, but what it does in addition is elicit from government adversary responses, sometimes proliferating to the point where the dysfunctions observed by the press become secondary to the combat itself.

The student election example is a good case in point. One remark made over the phone to me by a student officer protesting the coverage was that probably something good has come out of the newspaper's action, but that rules were broken, and when a system is breached, someone must be punished. When I pointed out that such a response by a democratic society was indeed "chilling," the student persisted. Is this so different from the reaction of the present administration to the Pentagon Papers Case?

"Tracing the process of public policy formation in a social system may often be an arduous task," Kenneth J. Gergen observes.² Public issues are rarely matters on one side against another at the outset--good vs. bad. There are a multitude of forces at work that tend to lose distinction when the points where they might be observed are blurred by adversary consideration. When this happens--and it does increasingly often--the public is not well served; the press loses its role as elucidator of the system and becomes a contender in it. Paradoxically, at this point the press tends to see itself as most objective. It is in this circumstance we summon the "kill the messenger" syndrome to explain our problem, implying that we are merely functioning as conduits--media--rather than as communicators ourselves, users of media.

When we lose the educator role, we fail in our obligation to explain to the public how the system works, leaving the impression that, aside

²Kenneth J. Gergen, "Assessing the Leverage Points in the Process of Policy Formation," in Raymond A. Bauer, Gergen ed., The Study of Policy Formation, (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 181.

from voting or civil disobedience, there is no change for input into governmental decisions. That, of course, leaves the field open for those who know how to use the system; we are left emasculated, the public disenfranchised.

The act of reporting, any reporting, involves a process of abstraction, organization and interpretation. The reporter decides he will report about any situation. When he reports government, he intersects a system with its own set of abstracting rules. Because, ideally, he has no stake in the system he intersects, he will be perceived as an alien. It is unlikely that his way of seeing the bureaucracy will not be the same as those within the bureaucracy. It has been observed that, once formed, an organization tends to see forces of severe disturbance as irrational.³ It is in this position the reporter finds himself. He will appear unfair, dishonest, perhaps irrational, to a governmental official. He will be met with anger, threat, use of power. It is to be expected; it is a definitive defense mechanism of government.

Yet the system--the one we teach and defend--tells new reporters to do the impossible. It tells them to be adversaries to government while maintaining good relationships with sources in government. It asks that reporters either behave treacherously with friends they use or betray confidences; it opens the reporter to manipulation by governmental figures. The alternative to this is a kind of selective cronyism, one that protects the informer at the expense of his boss, the disgruntled from the consequences of his disloyalty. It is a system that demeans both itself and the reporter performing in it.

I am proposing an alternative, a more scientific form of reporting, one in which bias is controlled as Theodore Reik suggests a psychiatrist does,⁴ an attitude which offers no assurances to sources, which promises no protections to public officials, a journalistic sense which seeks the earliest intersection with governmental policy foment, where the public's voice can make some change. Watchdog is the current word, but that connotes antagonistic, suspicious defensiveness. Monitoring is a better word for what I have in mind.

There will be friction. Friction is inevitable where one system evaluates another. A scientific press would be a wary press, but the combat will be gone. The public will not be forced to choose between an embattled press and a current foe. The press will be relieved of the need to produce evidence of pressure against it--and only to report it.

Otherwise we are in some trouble for the future. I think the present press system tends to compound rather than clear the confusion. It needs to concern itself with elucidation of options of choice in areas where, according to Fromm, "The individual feels helplessly caught in a chaotic

³Curt Tausky, *Work Organizations, Major Theoretical Perspectives*, (Itasca, Ill., F. W. Peacock, Inc., 1971), pp. 96-8.

⁴Theodore Reik, *Listening With the Third Ear*, (New York, Farrar, Straus, 1949), Chap. XV.

mass of data and with pathetic patience waits until specialists have found out what to do and where to go."⁵

The press need adopt no preset attitudes. It need only report and evaluate where it will. The emergence of the Nader consumer activity and his Capitol Hill News indicate a public hunger for this kind of reporting. It's too bad that kind of reporting had to come from an attorney rather than a journalist.

⁵Eric Fromm, Escape from Freedom, (New York; Discus Books, 1972) p. 276.

Remarks by Richard Petrow

Biographical note: Prof. Petrow teaches at New York University. He has been producer of "Newsfront," WNDT-TV, and of NBC Eleventh Hour News, and he has been a writer and producer for the CBS News Public Affairs Department. His special interests include newswriting and international communication.

I have given much thought to the "Source of Friction Between Press and Government," which is both the topic before this panel and a question which newsmen sometime ponder, and I have come to the reluctant conclusion that while there may be many sources for that friction, the primary source can be found in the nature and character of government itself.

Implicit in this view is a "malevolent" interpretation of the motives of government vis a vis the press. "Malevolent," of course, is an emotionally charged word. Malevolent to whom? you might ask. By whose standards? To these questions, I give the answer--malevolent to those journalists who are determined to do the job they should be doing, which is uncovering information that officials and institutions do not want uncovered.

I am also convinced that government, for its part, often views the press as a malevolent force, determined to prevent government from performing those functions which government feels it must perform, in the way government believes those functions should be performed. The basic question, therefore, comes down to choosing sides. Are you of government, by government and for government? Or are you, by nature, outlook and training, suspicious of government?

The only proper stance for a journalist is one that makes him suspicious of government...all governments....at all times. Any journalist who seriously hopes to perform his basic function must adopt an adversary position with regard to his government. There is and should be a built-in antagonism between press and government. When there is not, the press is not doing its job.

Three examples come to mind. We are very proud in the States about the press performance vis a vis Watergate. We are not so proud in the States about the performance of the Washington Press Corps before Watergate came about. For too many years, the Washington Press Corps ran with those in power, thought that by running with those in power they shared the power, and they then identified with the government rather than looking at government with some suspicion.

(A more typical local example is the police reporter who after many years covering the police beat starts to think and act more like a cop than the policemen do themselves. And during the few days I have been in Mexico, I have heard--and I don't know if this is valid information--that there are within the country various kidnappings of a political nature, kidnappings which are not reported except in a few cases by the Mexican press. If this is in fact so, I would feel this is a dereliction of duty on the part of Mexican reporters.)

Given my prejudice on the side of the press, which I acknowledge, let us look at government as a malevolent force from the vantage point of the journalist determined to do his job, as he sees it, to report and write what he sees fit to report and write, without government control, whether direct or indirect. My own area of interest pertains to attempts by government to control what appears on television news in the United States, but before spelling out some of the major incidents, of which there have been many, it should be noted that the problem is not of recent development.

Historically speaking, here are a few quotes from the mouths and pens of various U. S. presidents concerning the press.

"We have some infamous papers calculated for disturbing, if not absolutely intended to disturb, the peace." That was a quote from George Washington.

"If I were to try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business." That was by Abraham Lincoln.

"Do not believe anything you read in the newspapers.... they are utterly untrustworthy." That was by Woodrow Wilson.

"I have in front of me, oh, about eight or ten different newspapers. There isn't one story or one headline in all of these papers that does not give, to put it politely, an erroneous impression--not one. These things have been manufactured by deliberate misrepresentation of facts, existing facts." That was by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

And here is what President Kennedy had to say about the press: "I am reading it more and enjoying it less."

Turning to more recent days, we have this comment about television news: "I have never heard or seen such outrageous, vicious reporting in 27 years of public life." That was from President Nixon's press conference of October 26, 1973, and it concerned coverage of the Watergate scandal. Later in the press conference, when a reporter followed up on Mr. Nixon's remark, we find this exchange:

Q. "Mr. President. You've lambasted the television networks pretty well. Could I ask you...what is it about the television coverage of you in the past weeks and months that has so aroused your anger?"

PRESIDENT: "Don't get the impression that you arouse my anger."

Q. "I have that impression."

PRESIDENT: "You see, one can only be angry with those he respects."

Despite Mr. Nixon's disclaimer, he was in fact very angry, as anyone

who saw the televised news conference could see. But even if we take his words at face value, it is clear that the President has no respect for members of the press who report developments in a way that does not correspond to how he would like the news presented.

Let us assume the anger of presidents faced with a noncompliant press, and go on from there to see what the government, in turn, can do to inhibit and intimidate the press in the performance of its duties. In recent years, there have been many examples of governmental interference with TV news, some direct, some indirect, but all intended to create what has been so aptly called a "chilling effect." Maybe the case that best epitomizes the governmental initiative against the press is "The Selling of the Pentagon.

"The Selling of the Pentagon"

In January 1970, CBS News President Richard Salant was watching an NBC documentary on atomic energy which included portions of a government-produced film. Salant wondered about the film and asked CBS News to look into the question of the U. S. government as film-maker. Producer Peter Davis was assigned to the project and, after checking his sources, he recommended a program on the Department of Defense and its public relations efforts. Davis worked on the program for 10 months; "The Selling of the Pentagon" was broadcast for the first time in February 1971.

The program itself showed many aspects of the military's public relations efforts: military demonstrations with children climbing over weapons "so they could get the heft and feel of the genuine article," a "team of colonels" giving speeches on foreign policy before a civilian audience, the Army exhibit unit in the field. The documentary covered other topics it could not show: the close working relationship between certain members of Congress and the military, and Pentagon guided tours for VIPs. The documentary concluded that the Pentagon was engaged in a systematic and expensive public relations program to promote its image with the American people.

There was strong and immediate reaction even while the program was on the air. An Air Force officer called and threatened to "take the nose off Mudd's face." (Roger Mudd was the CBS correspondent who anchored the program.) Another caller said he wanted to congratulate "Comrade Mudd."

Although reviews of the program newspapers were generally favorable, there was strong criticism from certain members of Congress. Rep. Hebert, identified in the documentary as a pro-Pentagon congressman, called the broadcast the "most misleading, damaging attack on our people that I have ever heard of...anti-military, anti-pentagon, anti-uniform. The most horrible thing I've seen in years." Former Vice President Agnew called it a "disreputable program...a vicious broadside against the Pentagon." Agnew went beyond this specific documentary, attacking CBS' past record in the field of documentaries in general: "Considering the serious charges leveled by the CBS TV Network against the public affairs activities of the Department of Defense, the matter of the network's own record in the field of documentary making can no longer be brushed under the rug of national media indifference."

Another critic of the program, Rep. Harley Staggers, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and of its Special Subcommittee on Investigation, subpoenaed CBS for all film outtakes and notes and other background material used in the production of the documentary. CBS refused to comply with the subpoena; CBS Dr. Frank Stanton appeared before the Staggers' subcommittee to make his refusal in person, arguing that the issue was a question of freedom of the press. The subcommittee cited CBS for contempt, but the full House refused to go along. There the matter died.

The conclusion is clear. If a TV documentary strikes home close enough,

the TV producer and his or her superiors can expect sharp governmental reaction. The conclusion in human terms is also clear. It takes a brave producer and a courageous TV news department to risk governmental wrath. Would it not be easier and safer for the producer next time around to suggest a travel documentary, let's say an inside look at Cuernavaca and Taxco, complete with picturesque views? It should be noted that Peter Davis left CBS after the controversy. It was announced, of course, that "The Selling of the Pentagon" had nothing to do with it!

The FBI Against Daniel Schorr

Then we have the strange case of the FBI against Daniel Schorr. Schorr had not been one of the Nixon administration's favorite reporters. In March 1971, he reported that the President had misgivings about a new antiballistic missile system, basing his report on information obtained from a White House science adviser. President Nixon repudiated the report via his press agent and then, meeting with a group of women reporters, commented that he was not concerned about criticism, with one exception:

The only thing, however, where I have a very hard line about is inaccuracy, where something is inaccurate like Dan Schorr yesterday said, or made a statement, with regard to ABM that was totally without foundation and fact. If they say 'Nixon expressed doubts about ABM' when no meeting ever took place, that has to be corrected. That is what I mean. You can't allow a little lie. Incidentally, when I call it a lie, that is unfair because, after all, the man just probably had the wrong information. I am always very charitable towards my friends.

In August 1971, President Nixon, appearing before a Catholic audience in New York City, promised aid to Catholic schools. Schorr that evening reported that despite Mr. Nixon's emotional promise, there was in effect no plan in hand to deliver on the promise. The next day, FBI agents appeared in the CBS office in Washington and started to question Schorr about his background; and they started to question William Small, CBS bureau chief in Washington. They appeared in CBS' New York office also. They called Salant at home. They appeared in Dan Schorr's neighborhood to question friends and relatives and neighbors. They went back to his first job, which I believe was with the Jewish Telegraph Agency some 20 years back. The FBI had launched what was a full-fledged investigation of Dan Schorr. The cover story was that they were investigating Schorr for a possible government post. It went on for months. There was a job in the environmental area; then there wasn't a job in the environmental area. Finally, Schorr wrote Ron Ziegler, the presidential press secretary, asking for clarification. Ziegler replied:

I am told the job you were being considered for was Assistant to the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality. As I understand it, the Council was considering reorganizing its public awareness about environmental problems...

Fred Malek tells me you were suggested to him for the position by one of several people he uses often for recruitment ideas, and remained under consideration for about ten days. Fred subsequently concluded that you and the job were not really matched, and your name was dropped from consideration. Other people were being considered at the time, and have since been considered; but for a variety of personnel and planning reasons, a general hold has remained on the position.

I am further told that because your FBI investigation was terminated in the very early stages, no comprehensive report was ever prepared. The preliminary report, which was entirely favorable, and which was forwarded to the White House, has subsequently been destroyed.

I should add that the job which Ziegler said was once considered for Dan Schorr eventually went to Mrs. Shirley Temple Black. Not to denigrate Shirley Temple, it was obviously not a job for Schorr.

Schorr wrote a rather interesting article on this experience. It was published in Harper's magazine in March 1973. I think it is important and rather moving:

Even if the investigation had been set off by a tentative job offer, the effect, under the circumstances, had to be chilling to my work as a reporter. An FBI investigation is not a "routine formality." It has an impact on one's life, on relations with employers, neighbors, and friends. To this day, I must manage a strained smile when asked on social occasions, whether my "FBI shadow" is with me. It has become standard humor to inquire whether it is safe to talk to me on the telephone.

I am left now to ponder, when a producer rejects a controversial story I have offered, whether it is because of the normal winnowing process or because of my troublemaking potential. Even more am I left to wonder, when I myself discard a line of investigation, whether I am applying professional criteria or whether I am subconsciously affected by a reluctance to embroil my superiors in new troubles with the Nixon Administration. I should like to think that the government cannot directly intimidate me. But my employer, with millions at stake in an industry subject to regulation and pressure, is sensitive to the government, and I am sensitive to my employer's problems. So, one never quite gets over an FBI investigation...

The FBS and the FBI

There was also the case of the Public Broadcast Service and the segment on the FBI. Paul Jacobs, a self-styled "radical producer" from California, did a segment for "The Great American Dream Machine" in which he interviewed

men who claimed to be former FBI agents and who said they had acted as agents-provocateurs in working with radical groups, giving them instruction in how to use bombs and explosives. In other words, the charge was that the FBI itself participated in radical and explosive activity, so that the agency could then move against the groups. This segment was set to go on "The Great American Dream Machine." PBS circulated to all its stations a memorandum that they should watch for this particular segment; it was controversial; it should make publicity. I should add that during the preparation of the segment the FBI refused to cooperate with Paul Jacobs.

One week before the air time, the FBI called Hartford Gunn, then head of PBS, suggesting the program not go on the air, and suggesting further that it would be referred to the then Attorney General, John Mitchell. Suddenly, a second look was taken at this program. And serious editorial flaws were discovered: the opposite side had not been presented; you could not handle a subject of such magnitude in 15 minutes. Weaknesses arose where weaknesses previously had not been. The program was redone. Subsequently there was some broadcast distribution, but this particular segment was not on "The Great American Dream Machine" at the time it was originally scheduled. Attack the FBI, the FBI objects, and suddenly the TV organization ultimately responsible for the distribution pulls away.

These are three individual cases, but typical of what government can do to intimidate the media, and I would suggest that we can expect further cases regardless of the administration in power. Nor can this administration be counted out, even considering the Watergate indictments.

Last year, Clay Whitehead, director of the Office of Telecommunications Policy in the White House, spelled out some thoughts in relation to network news and the responsibilities of local stations. Subsequently, Whitehead appeared for a conference with editorial board members of The New York Times and was questioned on the administration's plan to make individual station managers more responsible for the content of the programs carried by their stations, even if those programs were produced by the networks. The basic idea, of course, is to lodge responsibility in the hands of station managers of local stations who are more amenable to pressure, and to create further distrust about network news. During the course of his talks with the Times editors, Whitehead admitted that regulations concerning television were complex and not subject to simple solution.

"The area is too sensitive," he said, "too controversial. I may have some ideas about how I think things ought to end up come 1984, but I don't think this is the time to lay them out."

A Times questioner fixed on the 1984 and asked:

"Is that the year you're shooting for?"

Whitehead replied: "It's a good year to keep in mind."

I will not belabor his use of 1984 as a reference year. There is enough happening in the present era that should make us all concerned about

1974. And let's remember that the adversary of a free press, as always,
is government.

Part 6

LATIN AMERICA AND THE PRINTED WORD

In this section, four Latin American panelists and one U.S. panelist discuss their varied interpretations of the importance and the status of the printed word in Latin America. Professor Francisco Prieto Echaso, panel moderator, calls for more reliance on Latin American techniques and images in the press, rather than reliance on foreign techniques and images. Hector Dávalos H. declares, among other things, that most Latin American newspapers have abdicated the mission of educating their readers, and that in at least half the Latin American countries, the state regularly attacks press freedom. Juan Resendiz Picasso points to the great problem of illiteracy in Latin America, and to the need for a stronger press and a truly Latin American international news agency. Rafael Santos describes typographical and educational efforts of El Tiempo, a daily paper in Bogota. H. Ned Seelye provides specific teaching strategies for cross-cultural communication classes.

Remarks by Francisco Prieto Echaso

Biographical note: Professor Prieto is a member of the faculty of the Department of Communication at Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.

The following is a summary of his written presentation.

Written journalism, as the name indicates, is based on oral expression. In Latin America, we are in search of a language, and thus we have a vigorous movement of reporters and writers, which we have never had before. That we can speak of the existence of nondependent Latin American reporters and writers means that we are perhaps on the threshold of an independent press. But we cannot speak of a "Latin American press," until the majority of Latin Americans recognize it as such.

The possibility of recognition of a Latin American press is directly related to 1) the quality of our intellectual elites, and 2) our ability to reach these elites.

Journalism, bear in mind, depends on the existence of a language and a cultural recognition. A proposition: if we don't have the words, we haven't learned reality. Are "our" words ours? Are they not perhaps a more or less servile translation that comes from using a foreign technique that is alien to us? Every technique of investigation, every language, necessarily produces a different vision of reality. Our journalistic language seems to reproduce in most cases the old Spanish pattern or the Anglosaxon social linguistic formulas. It does not seem to matter whether the techniques are appropriate or not for dealing with a cultural problem.

And with respect to that cultural recognition:

--The traditional functions of the press--information, entertainment, influence, orientation--have been managed in accordance with an integrated vision of our intimate social realities (empiricism, don't forget, usually discovers an immense quality of partial truth--some that becomes false).

In conclusion, to survive, Latin America must be at the height of the times, and very specifically, at the height of the ideas of the times. And this, given our singular history, requires a renaming of the historic universal heritage. Today our press is involved in a process of cultural extinction, of almost absolute dependence on foreign countries. Only a mental change at the continental level, rebounding on the press and thus reinforcing the change, can get us out of the crisis. The example has been given in the past by our reporters and writers, but the power elite as of now has not been aware of anything. It's a pity.

Observations on the Press in Latin America

By Hector Dávalos H.

Biographical note: Mr. Dávalos is a staff member of Diario de la Tarde, an afternoon daily paper in Mexico, D.F.

These evaluations are based on personal observations made in different countries in Central and South America, on the study of newspapers and discussions with professional journalists of these countries, as well as on bulletins and reports from the Inter American Press Association, the International Center for Higher Journalism Studies in Latin America (CIESPAL), the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter American Development Bank.

As it is dangerous to generalize, it should be noted that the panorama presented here should be viewed taking into account inevitable exceptions:

1. Every day it becomes more costly to open, modernize or expand a newspaper operation, due to the high prices of equipment and material. As a consequence, the power to express opinions through the press is also becoming that of the people who own the property, who are each day becoming fewer and are made up of groups becoming more and more unreachable.
2. The press is each day becoming more dehumanized as a result of:
 - a. The widening gap between the reader's and the publisher's interests.
 - b. The ever more marked superficiality of news stories and comments. It is becoming increasingly difficult to cut through pollution of information which results in distortion of the news.
 - c. Many of the commercial demands and, what is worse, the journalistic material, are done to stimulate and provoke the reader's reaction, rather than to make him meditate and think.
 - d. More and more people are being deprived of benefits the newspaper medium has to offer. At least in Latin America, newspaper and magazine circulation has not grown at the same rate as the population.
3. Newspapers have abdicated their mission of educating their readers, which is disastrous for millions of people south of the Rio Grande since, once they have learned to read and write, the newspaper is one of their main cultural sources.
4. The state regularly attacks press freedom and places severe limits

tations on it, in at least half the Latin American countries. The rest are subjected to tremendous manipulation of information received from private and government press offices, public relations agencies and so-called news releases which, far from aiding the journalist in his work, place obstacles in his way and impede personal contact with the sources of information.

Lastly, I would like to mention how the Latin American press is meeting the competition of radio and television. In most countries, there is an open battle, which can discredit all the media and result in a loss of the moral authority which is conceded to newspapers. These to date have not done anything to widen readership, such as programs to use the newspaper as an additional textbook in the school. This appears to mean that they will be losing more and more potential readers to the growing radio and television audiences. As for the battle between the media, it is to be hoped they will soon find the formulas for realizing the ideal of all media: working together and complementing one another.

Remarks by Juan Resendiz Picasso

Biographical note: Mr. Resendiz Picasso is technical director of the Central American Institute of Sciences and Techniques of Communication (Instituto Centroamericano de Ciencias y Técnicas de la Comunicación) in Tegucigalpa, Honduras

The following is a summary of the paper Mr. Resendiz Picasso presented:

U.S. speakers often refer to Latin Americans in general as "Latins." But from my point of view, Latin America is made up of five Americas: British America (Caribbean countries), French America (other Caribbean countries), Black America (which covers the whole continent), Indian America (native America) and Creole and mestizo America. Languages used in these five Americas are, in the order of importance and the number of persons who speak them, Spanish, Portuguese, French, English and Dutch, plus an enormous variety of native dialects. A complete examination of problems of the printed word and Latin America would include linguistic problems of these five languages, plus the dialects, but this relatively short panel discussion is not the proper time for that. Instead, I will speak of some pressing problems.

The high rate of illiteracy in our countries is due exclusively to the lack of promotional campaigns to increase the number of readers. This lack stems from bureaucratic problems, insufficient funds and the huge population growth. This situation strains any budget. The literacy race can be compared with the fable of the turtle and the hare. The hare is annual population growth, and the literacy effort is the turtle. The following figures from the U.N. Population Office illustrate the situation:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Annual Population Growth</u>	<u>Illiteracy (1972)</u>
Argentina	1.5%	6 %
Bolivia	2.6%	60.2%
Brasil	2.9%	29 %
Colombia	3.2%	21.5%
Costa Rica	3.3%	11 %
Cuba	2 %	No date available
Chile	1.4%	10 %
Dominican Republic	3 %	30 %
Ecuador	3.4%	25 %
Guatemala	3.3%	55 %
Haiti	1.5%	74 %
Honduras	3.4%	43 %
Mexico	3.4%	16.3%
Nicaragua	2.8%	43 %
Panama	3.1%	20.6%
Paraguay	2.4%	22 %
El Salvador	3.4%	40.4%
Uruguay	1.3%	3 %
Venezuela	3.6%	22.9%

Marshall McLuhan was right for Latin America when he said that "only the phonetic alphabet makes a division so acute in regard to experience, giving to whoever uses it an eye instead of an ear, and freeing him from the tribal attachment to magic clattering and from the net of relatives." We, in Indo-Iberic America, are still in this tribal stage. This is because we have five basic ways of life (the five Americas mentioned above) in Indo-Iberic America. The population cannot depend on the current print media to build public opinion. Why?

--The ideological plurality of the editors.

--Their cultural upbringing.

--Because the vast majority of our newspapers are born and die as a result of political aims and purposes. Besides, the business-minded managers and editors print disgusting amounts of advertising, up to 60 or 70%, and much of this advertising is paid for by the economic power structure of governments.

--The almost grotesque dependence on international news agencies, most of them of Anglosaxon origin, without any real ties to Indo-Iberic America. We urgently need to create a news consortium to express the Indo-Iberic point of view for ourselves and the rest of the world. A beginning has been made here. The news agency LATIN, which was established in 1969 and is growing in importance, has this as its goal.

In very few Spanish-speaking countries has a daily newspaper endangered a government's stability. When that does happen, the government arbitrarily closes the newspaper down. Mass protests then arise from the Inter American Press Association, but such reaction comes too late and is unable to change the situation. This has happened in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and other countries.

In Europe and the United States, newspapers have a tremendous opinion-building power, according to their circulation, and can tumble governments down. Their strength rests on their strategy and on the use of their ideology, and on the fact that their countries have comparatively small illiteracy problems and numerous newspaper readers. In contrast, the Indo-Iberic American masses are moved not by the press but by persons with political or economic power.

North American giantism can be exemplified by its mass media. The United States has 1,763 daily newspapers and a daily press run of approximately 60 million copies. In contrast, take Mexico as an example. We have here a few hundred daily newspapers with a press run of approximately five million copies, for a population of 50 million persons.

There is no really strong daily newspaper with enough strength to create public opinion.

This, of course, is convenient to the government in power in every country. There are only a handful of newspapers in Indo-Iberic America that have built a school of followers and a prestigious image: La Prensa

in Buenos Aires, El Mercurio in Santiago de Chile, El Tiempo in Bogota, La Nación in Costa Rica, El Norte in Monterrey and Excelsior in Mexico City. There are the few which have left a deep imprint, because of their high-quality writers and reporters.

In Latin American book publishing, the sad situation is that we create more lyric and romantic literature than technical, scientific or practical works. Thus we depend heavily on foreign (translated) editions, which come to us four or five years after they were published originally. This contributes to our technological gap, which tends to grow with time. By the time we get a translated technical book, it may well be obsolete. It is urgent that we dedicate ourselves to rapid production, or rapid translation, of technical, scientific and practical works.

Overall, if the print media were to use the same type of image promotion as the electronic media have done--using the techniques that have brought such commercial success in advertising in broadcasting--I think we could change the lifestyles of Latin Americans. We need to:

- Lower the high illiteracy rates in Latin America, in part by using a literacy primer published daily.

- Stimulate the number and quality of books published for students and researchers in all branches of human knowledge. Of many examples I could cite, let me mention the promotional techniques that the Mexican newspaper Novedades has used. It has established an annual contest titled "Printed Word" on the value of the printed word; at the same time, it is a channel to create new subscribers to the paper. Advertising agencies can play an effective role in literacy campaigns also.

In conclusion, I endorse John Kenneth Galbraith's statement that the development of the Third World will remain a complex problem for years to come; but that if such development is to take place, it will not be possible without generous aid from industrialized countries, and recognition of the fact that developing countries have the right to set their own rules and objectives.

Remarks by Rafael Santos

Biographical note: Mr. Santos is on the staff of El Tiempo, a leading daily newspaper in Bogota, Colombia.

The following is a summary of his presentation, taken from the taped proceedings:

Mr. Santos focused on two El Tiempo programs: 1) improvements in the newspaper's physical appearance and design, and 2) efforts by the newspaper to educate members of the lower and rural classes.

Several aspects of modern newspaper design have been adopted recently, including larger body type, a revised and modern headline schedule, emphasis on horizontal rather than vertical makeup, increase use of white space for improved readability and improved black and white and color photography.

In recent years, El Tiempo has developed a significant program to increase literacy and provide easy-to-read news and feature stories and other reading matter for lesser-educated persons. A Sunday supplement, for example, attempts to teach people how to read and write; it is distributed free with the newspaper. Other supplements provide easily read collections of reading matter at low prices.

Publishing the materials aimed at increasing literacy might have reduced the amount of regular news in the newspaper, Mr. Santos said, but the paper's circulation has increased, and overall reaction to the educational program has been favorable.

Another effort by El Tiempo to improve social conditions is its program in which doctors, teachers and other professionals are taken to city slums and rural areas to help residents there who are unavailable to pay for such services.

Teaching Strategies for Cross-Cultural Communication

By H. Ned Seelye

Biographical note: Mr. Seelye is director of Bilingual Education in the Illinois Office of Public Instruction in Chicago.

The following is a summary of his written presentation.

A couple of years ago, two friends visiting my wife and me in Guatemala returned upset from a visit to the local market. Vendors had thrown tomatoes at them! Our friends wanted to know what in hell was going on in the "land of eternal springtime."

The trouble began two weeks earlier when a dozen U.S. Embassy officials and their wives paused during a Sunday outing to eat and swim at a good provincial restaurant. The seemingly uneventful excursion was jarred by the agitated complaints of another patron, who said there were children present and the Americans should control their wives better. The confused American response sparked further recriminations about moral degeneracy and the promiscuous behavior of the American women. A brawl ensued involving two dozen pugilists. Monday's front-page headline advised, "Americans Riot in Escuintla." Front-page heads continued for four days; coverage was then shifted to page two for another week. Past wounds inflicted by "yanqui cultural imperialism" vividly came to the forefront of popular consciousness. Hence the tomatoes.

The restaurant owner is a friend of the family, so I asked him what had happened. "Two-hundred and fifty dollars worth of furniture and dishes were broken," he replied. I pressed to discover what had provoked the incident. "Well," he said, "in front of everyone this American woman got out of the pool and took off her bra!" Was she standing up when she did this? "No," he explained, "she was lying down on her stomach near the pool. She reached behind her and just unsnapped her halter!" Needless to say, the moral degeneracy of this dastardly act was lost on the gambling gringos.

Since Mark Twain, much has been said of the miscommunication which plagues American travelers.¹ University communication classes often try to alert students to the particular pitfalls of cross-cultural communication in order to reduce overt hostility when an American meets a stranger from another culture.

There are three initial steps to be taken in teaching cultural concepts.² The first is that the teacher must identify the skills involved in cross-cultural communication and understanding that can be developed in communication classes. Seven of these skills are outlined below. These skills become the goals of cultural instruction. Trivial, purposeless activities often can be redeemed by relating them to a goal through posing significant questions. The second step, writing end-of-course student performance objectives that are goal related, is illustrated by an example geared to the mass media. Performance objectives

spell out what a student should be able to do at the end of a course. The skill or knowledge needed to accomplish the end-of-year objectives will not be developed unless the teacher is able to provide the necessary experience either in class or as out-of-class assignments. These goal-related learning activities, the third step in planning cultural instruction, are illustrated by a unit based on a newspaper ad.³

Cultural Goal I: The Sense, or Functionality, of Culturally Conditioned Behavior.

The student should demonstrate an understanding that people act the way they do because they are using options the society allows for satisfying basic physical and psychological needs.

Today's newspaper featured a front-page photo of the state department's leading international diplomat holding hands with an Arab diplomat of the same sex. Our international expert was using, appropriately, an Arab gesture to express friendship with an Arab. The intent of Goal I is to see the logic behind any example of cross-cultural behavior--however bizarre or perplexing behavior initially may appear to ethnocentric eyes.

When an individual attempts to satisfy a basic need, he usually has to employ many interacting cultural patterns that form a relatively cohesive structure. Some of these patterns are linguistic; others are not. For example, maintaining the respect of male peers in upper-class Guatemala City might involve skill in telling jokes and discussing literature, knowledge of English and of wines and liqueurs, having a resort home in which to entertain guests away from the city, and dressing conservatively. After the foreign language student has identified a basic need and translated it into the form of the target culture, questions can be directed toward perceiving the relationship among different patterns.

Cultural Goal II: Interaction of Language and Social Variables.

The student should demonstrate an understanding that such social variables as age, sex, social class and place of residence affect the way people speak and behave.

No two people speak the same language. Voiceprints are as personal as fingerprints. Individual differences are an important part of the personality a person projects, as any amateur mimic knows. Of much greater interest to a student of the foreign culture, however, are systematic variations in the speech of large numbers of people caused by differences in age, sex, social class and place of residence. An 8-year-old talks differently from an 80-year-old. The speech regarded as appropriate for women would raise eyebrows if spoken in a men's locker room, and acceptable male locker-room speech would not go unnoticed at an afternoon tea of the lady's auxiliary. The speech of a dock worker is not often confused with that of a college professor, nor is the drawl of a Southerner (of any country) mistaken for that of a Northerner.

Cultural Goal III: Conventional Behavior in Common Situations.

The student should indicate an ability to demonstrate how people conventionally act in the most common mundane and crisis situations in the target culture.

Custom resolves the awkwardness of responding spontaneously to the same situation over and over again by conventionalizing the response. When you meet someone new, in English you say "How do you do" or in some settings, simply "Hi." Some cultures provide conventionalized linguistic responses where others do not. For example, the linguistic dilemma of what to write to an acquaintance upon the death of his mother is simplified in Spanish by the convention "Mi más sentido pésame," whereas the English, of my dialect at least, does not provide a conventionalized linguistic response. In the Spanish world "mi más sentido pésame" affords both parties satisfaction in a difficult encounter; in the English world the same function is performed by mailing commercial sympathy cards to the bereaved.

All conventional responses share several characteristics: 1) they are cued by common social situations; 2) both verbal and kinesthetic responses are limited to a prescribed few; 3) while utterance of the expected response is mildly rewarding to the involved persons, absence of an expected response produces considerable anxiety. This is true of conventional responses to a mundane occurrence, such as wishing someone a happy birthday, as well as of responses to a crisis situation, such as consoling someone who has suffered a divorce or serious illness. The sociological foundation for conventional behavior is elaborated by Goffman (1971).

Cultural Goal IV: Cultural Connotations of Words and Phrases.

The student should indicate an awareness that culturally conditioned images are associated with even the most common target words and phrases.

The thought of a beautiful woman to a desert Arab might conjure up sensuous images of a 250-pound lovely, while to an American lexically equivalent words in English might connote a slim but disproportionately big-busted lass. One Italian neighbor of mine complains that in Italy men did not pay much attention to her because she was too skinny at 110 pounds, while in the United States the same fate has befallen her now that her weight is 170 pounds. If only she could be "fat in Italy" and "skinny" in the United States, she would be "beautiful" everywhere. The cultural connotations of words can make the difference between an active social life and staying home.

How can an understanding of the relation between culture and semantics be developed? One way is for students to experience directly the cultural connotations of common words such as man, house, standing, walking, by observing these objects and activities as they occur in the target culture. This experience need not be limited to students studying abroad. The graphics of magazines, newspapers and movies are well suited to convey these objects and activities in the target culture.

One of the many requisites to "thinking like a native," besides fluency in the target language, is the conditioned ability to visualize

culturally appropriate images which language evokes. Whether it is the fat Arab coquette or the pleasantly cool mud home of the Masai, communion with a native of another language demands sharing meanings that go beyond listless dictionary definitions.

Cultural Goal V: Evaluating Statements about a Society.

The student should demonstrate the ability to evaluate the relative strength of a generality concerning the target culture in terms of the amount of evidence substantiating the statement.

For the rest of his life, the student will be hearing things about other cultures. He must learn to differentiate judgments that serve the ethnocentric bias of a national politic from judgments that have an adequate empirical base. There are many prerequisite skills for sorting through the pronouncements of our species. Among these are skill in balancing the evidence with the generality, in separating speculation from objective observation, and in discerning vested interest.

Cultural Goal VI: Researching Another Culture.

The student should show that he has developed the skills needed to locate and organize information about the target culture from the library, the mass media people, and personal observation.

Of utmost import are the classroom skills that stay with a student during all the years after he leaves our tutelage. Many students lose their hard-earned linguistic fluency, but none loses the need for continuing his education. Despite historic precedents replete with isolationism and anti-intellectualism, we have been made painfully aware that even distant small countries importantly influence our daily options. Understanding other cultures is frequently a matter of life or death. In the best of times, knowledge of another culture is tantamount to moving out of a dark dank corner of the cave into more illumination.

The average college graduate has been the recipient of an education costing more than \$25,000. Most of the content of this education soon becomes obsolete. This is not a criticism of the education, it is a tribute to our commitment to pushing back the frontiers of knowledge. Still, education is difficult to justify on the basis of the "facts" learned. Alfred North Whitehead in The Aims of Education (1928) utterly rejects this notion. The learning of facts, he writes, has not justified education since the establishment of libraries and the availability of paperbacks. If the actual content of education has little currency, what is of inestimable value is learning how to learn. Practically all learning of any value is learned outside of a formal classroom. Learning, however, can be greatly enhanced by an educational system that develops skill in pursuing knowledge.

Cultural Goal VII: Attitudes toward Other Cultures.

The student should demonstrate intellectual curiosity about the target culture and empathy toward its people.

Teachers tend to ascribe all the problems involved in the teaching of cultural understanding to attitudinal variables. "We must change the students' attitude," they tell us. Much of what we do in the name of cultural understanding is seen as contributing to this affective change. To avoid the obvious danger of converting Goal VII into yet another impotent "supergoal" encompassing just about anything and everything, its scope must be defined somewhat narrowly. Two components of attitude--curiosity and empathy--are identified here.

End-of-course Performance Objective

To illustrate a student performance objective; the following end-of-year task is suggested for measuring the amount of skill developed relative to Goal V.

Terminal Behavior: To demonstrate skill in generating and refining cultural hypotheses, the student will 1) observe a cultural pattern from a picture, cartoon, drawing or news fragment, 2) make one generalization about the culture drawn from examination of the picture, and 3) indicate five sources of information to which one might refer in order to further refine the generalization.

Conditions: The illustrations in 1 will be given in class. You will be allowed to choose one from among five; all will be taken from target newspapers or magazines which have been available in class for at least one month. You will be given 30 minutes to complete the three terminal behaviors.

Criterion: At least four of the five chosen sources must be valid choices.

Footnotes

¹An excellent book by a sociologist from Antioch College analyzes communication problems occur between American guests in Colombian homes: Raymond Gorden. Living in Latin America: A Case Study in Cross-Cultural Communication. Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company, 1974.

²The subject of this paper is developed at much greater length in a book. H. Ned Seelye, Teaching Culture: Strategies for Foreign Language Educators, scheduled for publication by National Textbook Company (Skokie, Illinois), in June 1974.

³The brief newspaper unit included here is one of the two dozen learning activities which are included in The Newspaper: Spanish Mini-Culture Unit by H. Ned Seelye and J. Laurence Day (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company, 1974).

Part 7

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND ADVERTISING

In this section, Professor Doug Newsom of Texas Christian University gives a down-to-earth guide for public relations personnel working in non-U.S. countries. Professor Newsom includes numerous examples of the cross-cultural faux pas in public relations, plus facts and figures on numerous U.S. public relations activities abroad. Professor Newsome's presentation was a written paper; oral presentations made at the seminar's public relations session are not included in this part because the session was not tape-recorded.

The rest of this section is devoted to the seminar's panel discussion on advertising. First comes a brief written paper on the state of international advertising by Professor Mel Adams of the University of Kansas, followed by a written report on how the introductory advertising course is taught in U.S. colleges by Professor E. S. Lorimor of East Texas State University. Summaries of oral presentations by Mr. Ramon Pros of Darcy Advertising in Mexico City and by Professors Joe F. Lewels, Frank Pierce and Milton Gross follow.

Professor Dale Gaston moderated the advertising panel. He is a member of the faculty of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri.

What's the Message in International Public Relations?

By Doug Newsom

Biographical note: Professor Newsom is a member of the faculty of the Department of Journalism at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Tex. She has 13 years of experience in public relations, and her other teaching areas include technical writing for the mass media, opinion writing and feature writing. She holds B.A., B.F.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Texas at Austin.

Let me read you a news release proposed by a U.S. corporate executive. He claims that such information as this will be a reality in "the not too distant future." The release would read like this:

NEW YORK (April 25)--Carlos Rodriguez has been elected president of XYZ Inc., a multinational manufacturing firm with headquarters in New York. A native of Sao Paulo, Rodriguez joined the company in 1958, as a sales engineer in Brazil. He was most recently vice president of Far Eastern operations, etc...

The executive who suggested that this might be the kind of publicity that public relations news wires will be moving in the future was E. Mandell de Windt, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Eaton Yale & Towne Inc. De Windt has been associated with the diversified company for 30 years and while serving as executive vice president established Eaton Yale & Towne's multinational operations, which now represent one quarter of the company's annual billion dollar sales.

After proposing such a release as a fact of the future, de Windt poses these questions: "Can it happen?" "Can an executive become the chief operating officer of a company whose stockholders, management and base of operations are located in a nation other than his own?" De Windt answers those questions: "It can, and it will, if the concept of multinational business is able to fulfill its destiny of a worldwide marketplace. It will happen when the only requirement for personal progress is personal performance."

Certainly this concept is not difficult to accept when we consider the potentiality of a sophisticated systems of communications which are essential for multinational corporations. It takes on more of a feeling of reality, though, when you know that the New York Stock Exchange is seriously studying the feasibility of an international tape so the marketplace will indeed be multinational. Hank Boerner, vice president for public relations of the NYSE, says such an international trading system is only about 10 years away, the time anticipated for solving such problems as fluxuating monetary values. The other primary problem--difference in time--actually will be solved first when the US markets go to a 24-hour operation.

But there is more to a multinational business climate than the mechanics of communication and trading. De Windt suggests that a major element is attitude. "The multinational executive," de Windt says, "is a new breed

of businessman. He perceives business on a global scale. He sees markets, not borders. He counts customers, not populations. He makes products, not politics. He is an executive of demonstrated competence who just happens to be the citizen of a particular country.

"The multinational executive is the key man in bringing a worldwide look to business by dealing with the executives of other nations on the basis of mutual benefit to a business operation. Hopefully gone, and hopefully soon to be forgotten, is the home office know-it-all who flies in with a satchel full of directives, all kinds of good advice, lots of film for his camera and a woeful lack of understanding of the language, needs and customs of his hosts. In the competitive arena of global business, the executive who is nothing more than a tourist of an expense account isn't needed and isn't wanted. What is needed is a man who realizes that the success of his company depends on the free interchange of ideas, products, research and technology."¹

Certainly attitude is of primary importance, and so is awareness. There are four critical areas public relations practitioners must be aware of when practicing their profession outside of their own country: language, customs, symbols and laws.

1. Language. A fundamental knowledge of the language is, we would hope, basic, but what probably is just as important is a "feel" for the language. This means that the public relations practitioner who is depending significantly on communications must know the nuances of a language. To know these requires an empathic understanding of the people who speak it. Once when we were preparing a brochure for Women In Communications, Inc., to use in recruiting talented teenagers into journalism, we knew that it should be bilingual because of the number of Spanish-speaking people in the U.S. However, this brochure was going to middle school children--6-7-8 grades--and we knew that the largest Spanish-speaking groups incorporated Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Mexicans, each of which uses Spanish words differently, especially at the age level we could be reaching. The same language, but different use of words.

This implies a fact we all are aware of: you know we have significant problems with our own language, and making ourselves understood even with people who speak the same dialect can be difficult. For example, you would expect most Americans to be able to understand each other. But a student once appeared in my office with a trembling upper lip and her eyes barely containing their tears. I thought she was having academic problems, but I soon discovered the difficulties were in communication. She was from New York, and she simply didn't like being address in the plural. Some of our Mexican friends who know Texans will understand when I tell you that the form of address which disturbed her was "yall." She thought they meant it as a direct invitation, instead of form of farewell.

As a communicator, I would expect difficulties with my own language

¹E. M. de Windt, "The Multinational Executive: Rhetoric or Reality?" Public Relations Quarterly (Winter, 1971), pp. 11-12.

to be minimal, but let me tell you about an experience I had in a conversation with a Britisher. He was the interpreter for Vittorio Negri, who was conducting the Texas Boys Choir, the Gregg Smith Singers and E. Power Biggs in recordings for Columbia masterworks. I handled the publicity for the Texas Boys Choir. The recordings were between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m. in order to eliminate street sounds, which crept through despite the thick walls of St. Mark's Cathedral. The hour was late and the courtly Britisher knew I had been working very long hours because he had seen me filing a news story at 6 a.m. He was trying to pay me a compliment: "How do you manage to always look so neat and nice?" he asked. I was still wearing the same dress he had seen me in at 6 a.m. and it was now nearly midnight. I answered him by saying, "I brought quite a few knits with me on this trip." He gave me a quizzical, slightly amused look. Realizing a problem, I was about to ask what it was he didn't understand when he asked me, "What do you Americans call 'knits'?" I told him any knitted fabric we referred to as "knit." He began to laugh and responded to my puzzled look by saying that in Britain, they refer to "nitwits" or stupid people as "nits," which sounds the same but is spelled differently. I told him I hoped I had not brought any of those nits along. Thus communicating means more than a knowledge of words; it means knowing what words mean to others.

2. Customs are just as important to a communicator as language because we say a great deal even when we are silent. What we do. How we move. Our response to others. All convey meaning. You and I have heard more than we ever want to hear about the difference in distance Anglos and Latins use in talking to each other. Jokes about Latin closeness in conversation and U.S. distance abound on both sides of the border. A recent source of amusement regarding national customs came from our Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who was asked by an American newsman what he thought the public reaction in the United States would be to pictures of his walking to his airplane holding hands with one of the Arab leaders. He said that probably would not get him in nearly as much trouble with the Americans as the kiss on the lips he got from a Soviet official. The question in the U.S., of course, would not be one of Dr. Kissinger's politics, but his acceptance of an expression of affection from another man. Fortunately for our international relations, Dr. Kissinger is finely attuned to customs and both sensitive and secure enough to accept gracefully customs which directly conflict with his own. This is something we all must learn to do in order to function with any degree of trust and familiarity in multinational relationships.

3. Symbols are almost a part of customs, but we will discuss them separately. Certain visual images have specific meanings among all peoples. It's difficult for a smile to be misunderstood, for example. However, certain other visual images have national interpretations and these must be recognized and respected. For example, a reservation-reared Indian drafted into an army division which received only rudimentary training before being sent to Europe against Nazi forces was mystified when enroute his own army "buddies" threatened his very life. What aroused their anger? An Indian symbol on his wallet which meant one thing to his tribe and something entirely different to the Nazis, who called it a swastika.

4. Laws. Most of us do not even know our own country's laws thoroughly

and often consider it an imposition to learn the laws of another country. We must. We must be familiar not only with business law but with how the laws operate. One of the best publications for Americans to use is published by a U.S. accounting firm: Price Waterhouse and Co. There are complete publications for each country, and these publications discuss the tax structure and government. I have found them valuable. One of the best examples I can give of the legal entanglements one can get into is nothing very complicated like the corporate financing and taxing of a multinational company. It is a simple illustration from my classroom. A graduate student from Argentina was interested in importing into the U.S. a condiment enjoyed there as much as peanut butter is in the U.S. He thought it would sell as well. We made elaborate inquiries in his own country and the U.S. It seemed that all barriers had been cleared until we found out that a single ingredient in the product was not allowed to be exported from his country in any form, and another different single ingredient was not allowed to be imported into the U.S. in any form. No wonder so few processed foods can move from border to border.

We have been talking of generalities, so let's get specific and see exactly how these four areas--language, customs, symbols and laws--affect a public relations program in another country. One of the most obvious displays for errors in any or all four of these is advertising, institutional or product. Advertising abroad appears, as it does at home, on billboards and posters, in magazines and newspapers, and on radio, and in some countries on television too. This means that the design of the ad and the words must conform to both the specific culture of the audience and the laws of the country. Perhaps this is where we should mention the obvious--that a country's culture is seldom homogeneous, even in a very small nation like Switzerland. In larger countries like the United States and Mexico, there is even greater diversity. I will always remember the rather serious consequences of an advertiser's not knowing his target audiences well enough to realize that they were not homogeneous. An advertiser, buying billboard space in the Phillipine Islands, thought a picture of a little girl in her first communion dress would be appealing. No doubt it would be on Luzon, which is primarily Catholic, but the billboards also were put up in Mindanao, in Moro or Moslem country. The billboards were torn down almost as quickly as the 24 sheets went up, and there were several violent acts as a result.

Something else an advertiser needs to know is how rates are set in the country where he is buying time or space. Some countries, like the U.S., have rates set on a basis of the number of people the advertising message reaches, and the audience estimates are carefully audited statistics. In some countries, audience estimates are not even available. In a few, they are wild claims.

There also is the problem of contracts and monetary exchange. U.S. advertisers often act as though they are accustomed to buying time or space at a specific rate under a contractual agreement and being billed exactly what they expected to be billed. They also seem to expect the commercial material to be printed or broadcast at precisely the time or in exactly the space contracted for. I don't know why. That doesn't happen even at home. Nevertheless, when bills placed for advertising abroad come back wrong, the

advertiser is quick to blame the "stupid natives" instead of himself for not being aware that the relationship of his money to theirs changed during that time; that entirely different management policies govern media and furthermore the mails just might not have even gotten the material there until two weeks later than the date anticipated.

Advertising usually is the corporate message abroad, but sometimes there is an opportunity for a company or institutional spokesmen to deliver a personal message. Yet, I'm referring to speeches which are given in other countries by representatives of a company based in another country. There are three areas you need to watch very carefully here: personality, staging and timing. The personality of the speaker is critical. If it is a person perceived by the audience as warm and friendly, even errors in efforts to speak the language will be forgiven generously. But if the speaker seems to be hostile, every flaw in his observance of customs, traditions and language will receive the highest critical scrutiny. Since speeches really are "events," they should receive careful staging. The planning alone will help you check and thus eliminate anything which might be construed as an affront or an insult. Part of the general planning should be timing. Even the most personable of speakers will suffer in a hostile environment which may not be one of his own making, but due to public opinion aroused by events over which he had no control. Emotions tied to nationalistic interest or ego are volatile, as any career diplomat will be willing to testify. Plan the appearance of a speaker with a careful eye on the calendar; read the newspapers and listen to the radio to keep up with the current mood. Remember, it's better to cancel a speech when the political winds blow ill than to provoke an international incident.

In addition to the advertising a country exports and speakers who represent not only their specific company or institution but also their country, there is the terrific impact of audio-visuals, particularly films. U.S. companies are using a great deal of film now, but generally for internal purposes--for educational devices or training. Furthermore, many multinational companies are finding that showing employees in another country how to do something on film is more effective than telling them, and thus the company films become educational and training devices abroad too. There is another kind of film exported--the commercial. Now these go primarily to countries which are rather sophisticated because the medium, television, is sophisticated. However, satellites are making television more readily available, and it seems time to at least sound a warning about the commercial as an image maker. When I view U.S. television commercials and even imagine the same thing or something similar being shown in a country where we are not well known or understood, it gives me an uneasy feeling. It seems time to take a careful look at what another audience might see in a commercial message. Perhaps there is no cause for concern at all. Maybe the damage already has been done by the exporting of full-length films made in Hollywood. The viewing in Italy of a piece of trash that purportedly showed the American life style embarrassed both me and my Italian host, who said sympathically, "Americans are not like this, no?" "No, they aren't!" I replied. The image of Texans, thanks to Western films, is so ludicrous that I think we can't even take that seriously. So much for Hollywood, but there are some films we do need to think seriously about. These are the documentaries, which are

being exhibited abroad, ones dealing with social problems and giving a particular point of view. Many of these documentaries are made by U.S. companies or by an industry. Some by the government. No doubt all are sincere, and most are technically excellent, but it is important to see them through the eyes of another country's people before exhibiting them abroad. One example, I recall with acute embarrassment, was a U.S. military film, shown to a mixed group of U.S. military personnel and natives of our host country. The film was a bit of heavy handed patriotism that really didn't set well at all.

When we were preparing to go abroad to live, a good friend gave me perhaps the best advice anyone can get, he said, "Remember, for many of the people you meet in the Philippines, from the high society in Manila to the headhunters in Baguio, you are not simply you--Doug Newsom, with allowable faults and frailties--you are just an American." It's quite a responsibility and one we all face when we travel abroad. You might be the only Latin American, the only Mexican, the only Texan, the only American that someone or a group of people ever has met. Isn't it horrifying to know that they might judge all of your countrymen by you? What a responsibility we all have! Personal contacts, then always an important part of public relations become critical. One of the best aids I found are embassy guide books, ours and theirs! These will steer you away from the worst mistakes. Many companies produce their own guides to countries, and the best of these seem to be ones written by a national with a cosmopolitan experience. An alternative is hiring as a writer one of your own countrymen who is a permanent transplant maybe because of family background (a parent from that country) or because of marriage to a national. What stands out in the best of these books is that more than a superficial list of do's and don'ts, they explain the whys of the do's and don'ts. I remember having heard all of my life that the orientals were a devious lot who would lie to you without blinking an eye. I'm very grateful to a wise friend with much time logged in Asia who corrected this before I left U.S. shores. What he told me was this, "Often you will find that an Asian will tell you something you know is not accurate, but what you must understand is that these are a very polite people who consider it rude to disagree with you. Therefore, if you have made your position or opinion plain they will agree. They will also often tell you what they think you want to hear, rather than what we would call 'the truth.' Again, it is a matter of manners, not fact. Fact has nothing to do with it." This helped me enormously.

Our personal contacts are often in written form, letters. As business becomes more international, there will be more and more cause for communication, and it is important here to watch for two really serious traps: forms of address and idioms. People in the U.S. are casual about a lot of things and forms of address is one of them. But those in government and military people learn protocol quickly, either on their own initiative or the hard way, through unfortunate experiences. There is also good business protocol. Find out what protocol dictates the country with which you are dealing and follow it stringently. All of us do dreadful things to our own language, and somehow our fellow citizens seem to figure out what we are saying. However, don't count on a foreign translator to cope with your idiomatic expressions or your slang. The language may be a translator's native tongue, but if it's been 10 years or more since that

person was in his native country, there will be many current phrases in the vernacular that will not be translated accurately. I'm not entirely sure there is a place for slang, but if there is, it's at home.

You also will be dealing with a country's news media. Be sure you know the policies and governmental regulations under which each medium operates. In planning publicity, you need to develop a mailing list which has specific contacts listed. In sending publicity to newspapers, be sure you are aware of a newspaper's editorial policy. I'll tell this story on myself. I sent a story to an Italian newspaper which I did not realize was a communist publication. The story was about the Texas Boys Choir's recording some religious music at St. Mark's in Venice. Probably I would not have sent the story had I been aware because my assumption would have been that the editors would not want to use it. However, the story was sent and was used, and I was then criticized by some members of the Choir's board who were strongly anticommunist. In public relations, there is no defense for ignorance. I should have known. You also must be alert when you are granting interviews in a country where language problems might create misunderstandings which will get into print. It is best to have a translator there even if you speak the language and if the interviewer speaks yours. Sometimes there are some difficulties that a translator will catch. I now understand why many foreign diplomats who speak excellent English will negotiate with our diplomats only through a translator. It is a very prudent move.

If you are trying to send stories home from abroad, the time differences will bother you less than the transmission problems. One of the best solutions I found was hotel telex systems and obliging innkeepers who would let me use them. Also, the cable operators are usually very accommodating. I have had varying experiences with postal systems, but our own keeps me in such a constant state of frustration that I wouldn't dare criticize another country's.

Something that you and I might not be as accustomed to, though, is the censorship that does occur in some countries. The news service correspondents will caution you that the first offense is a gentle reprimand; the second much more serious. Censorship often has nothing to do with transmitting another country's official state secrets. In some countries even the mildest form of criticism of anything in its borders is considered bad for its image and will not be allowed to be released from within that country's borders.

When dealing with the broadcast media, you are usually in a rather cosmopolitan atmosphere because the country which has developed extensive broadcast coverage usually is cosmopolitan. What you must always be alert to is the coverage of an event. Again, you must see it as a newsperson from that country would see it. In the interview situation, again, be alert to language nuances and if you are the one doing the interview to send home, and you are using a tape recorder or a camera, be sure you first get permission to do so. In many countries there are things and people that you may not film--for political, cultural or religious reasons. If you are told "No," don't. The ambassador not only probably can't get you out of jail, he doesn't relish the idea of you having done something stupid to get put in there in the first place.

Another word of caution about the use of still cameras. In addition to the granting of permission, be sure you watch the composition of the photographs you take. Be alert to the background and props. This is true too of pictures that others ask you or those you represent as a PR practitioner to pose for. We had one unpleasant incident in which I had to very firmly refuse a photographer a particular pose once, due to background. There was only a brief exchange and when he realized that I understood what he was trying to accomplish, he acquiesced.

Occasionally a magazine in another country will use a story about the company or client you represent. If you have stimulated their interest with a query, then I must assume that you have checked for things like editorial policy and the slant of the publication. However, after you have prepared the story, it is important to take a look at it from the point of view of the readers in the country where it will be read. Some things we take for granted and write about very matter of factly, because we do, are longed-for-luxuries in other countries, and the very tone in which we might refer to such is likely to build resentment instead of rapport. In discussing letters, newspapers and magazines, I did not mention having the material you send abroad translated before you send it, but then, of course, I wouldn't have to remind you of that.

When you are handling public relations from another country on a permanent basis, I would hope you have the good counsel of a national in your office, because you are going to need honest advice, probably on a continuing basis. If you are not so fortunate as to have good national counsel, at least do not fall into the trap of some false assumptions about the practice of public relations abroad. The president of the J. Walter Thomson Co., Dan Seymour, writing from an American point of view, has stated six of these assumptions succinctly:

1. The assumption that target audiences are the same everywhere.
2. The assumption that channels of distribution and control are the same as in the U.S.
3. The assumption that U.S.-type activities are legal, or politically expedient.
4. The assumption that the same timetables as in the U.S. are feasible.
5. The assumption that the same, or comparable, cost allocations apply.
6. The assumption that the same facilities are available as in the U.S. or even exist at all.²

A spokesman for J. Walter Thomson should know about international

² Dan Seymour, "Six False Assumptions of the Multinational Freshman," Public Relations Quarterly (Winter, 1971) p. 14.

communications activities since, according to Herbert I. Schiller's book, The Mind Managers, that agency is "penetrating five continents with its billings." According to Schiller statistics, JWT in 1971 had \$744 million in billings, of which 45%—some \$355 million—originated in 27 countries outside of the U.S. Handling these accounts are 8,000 people in 42 offices. JWT is the biggest but not an exception.

Second in line in 1971 was Young and Rubicam, also the second-largest American agency in 1971, which, again according to Schiller, had \$503 million in billings, of which 37% or \$186 million, came from the international market. It has 18 foreign offices with 1,446 employees in 17 countries.

In the same year, 1971, McCann-Erickson received some \$594 million in billings with 60% of this, about \$361 million, originating in its international branches (69 offices in 46 countries).

As early as 1967 Printers' Ink's international edition listed 45 American agencies with hundreds of overseas affiliates. Schiller explains this by saying, "Public relations, a practice of American business since the early years of the twentieth century, has also become an international phenomenon following the migration of American capital abroad." In the advertising agencies mentioned, PR is often an auxiliary activity, but there are now considerable investments by business in strictly public relations activities. Schiller says, "A recent estimate put the foreign PR expenditures of American companies at fifty million dollars. Whereas advertising commonly aims to sell the corporation's output, PR's goal is to sell the company itself—as useful, productive and beneficial to the society in which it is located."³

A possible source for some of Schiller's statistics is an article by Richard Toohy called, "A Survey of Overseas PR Today" which appeared in the Public Relations Quarterly's 1971 winter issue. Toohy summarizes: "A total annual expenditure of fifty million dollars by two hundred twenty-five corporations, with one hundred fifty-three of them employing a total of about one thousand three hundred people overseas; ten of the top eighty U.S. public relations agencies have overseas offices employing a total of about four hundred..."

Toohy is PRQ's publisher and the president of Public Relations Aids, Inc. of New York, the largest public relations service firm in the U.S. Toohy surveyed the 500 largest U.S. industrial corporations and the 80 largest U.S. public relations firms to get his statistics.

His 1971 figures show that 68% of the 225 corporations used a directly employed overseas PR staff. The largest staff reported was 106 in 48 countries, followed by 100 in 27 countries. The average, he said, was 5 in 2 countries. Agencies are used by 47% of the companies, and 11% use agencies exclusively, Toohy says, and fleshes out this statistic with the comment that 64% of the companies are in the over \$500 million class. The use of the agencies he found was for special projects, 52%; for publicity, 49%;

³Herbert I. Schiller, The Mind Managers, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), pp. 128-135.

for counseling, 38%; and article placement, 32%. Also mentioned were agency use for investor relations, publications, radio/TV and clipping analysis. Corporate executives named the agencies they felt best equipped to handle international PR as: Hill & Knowlton, Inc., Ruder & Finn, Inc., Burson-Marsteller, Inc., Carl Byoir & Associates, Inc. and J. Walter Thompson Co. Toohy notes that Hill & Knowlton was named three times as often as any other firm but primarily by corporations with over \$500 million in sales.

To get a feel for what an agency so heavily involved in international PR has to say about the field, let's look at words attributed to the executive vice president of the agency Hill & Knowlton and quoted in Schiller's book, The Mind Managers: "Let us review the situation confronting the American corporation today in Western Europe: For a time following World War II, American companies found European countries eager for dollar investment--and the markets seemed almost endless...In recent years the climate has changed: the 'welcome' sign has been replaced with one reading 'Lankee Go Home'...Under these circumstances, American corporations face difficult problems. They cannot merely withdraw--they must work harder than ever--and much of their attention must be given to the public relations aspects of their international operations."⁴

That seems like a significant charge to U.S. public relations practitioners, but I suspect that it also applies to every one of us doing business off of home territory. We must work harder to understand and to be understood. Instead of its being the devious undermining of each other's economic and political systems that Schiller seems to suspect, I prefer to hope that it is the beginnings of significant understanding and genuine relationships.

Brief Reflections on the State of International Advertising

By Mel Adams

Biographical note: Prof. Adams is a member of the faculty of the School of Journalism at the University of Kansas.

In the past decade and in particular the past five years, we have witnessed a boom in international advertising. This has been due principally to three dominant factors: 1) the rise of international media, 2) the growth of multinational advertising agencies, and 3) an increasing desire on the part of manufacturers in the United States and abroad to sell their products in foreign countries.

Two of the age-old problems that have confronted the advertiser in foreign countries are the lack of media to convey the message to the consumer, and the high illiteracy level existing in many countries. We now see, however, the rise of international media that circulate across national borders. Publications such as Time, Newsweek, Cosmopolitan, National Geographic and others have amassed large circulations abroad that provide excellent advertising media for companies international in scope. In addition, the growth of television abroad has been a boon in reaching consumers in areas where the illiteracy level is high. Often no other medium is received in the home.

Another favorable factor is the growing economy in many countries. Advertising is not likely to flourish in a scarcity economy where the standard of living is low, and where consumer goods are not plentiful and discretionary spending power is low. In those countries where such conditions exist, advertising does not amount to much of an economic force. But the economics of nations has changed radically since World War II. The economy of many countries has changed so radically even in the past 10 years that they have become prime markets for overseas investments.

As companies, both domestic and foreign, sprang up in these countries, a number of advertising agencies moved into the international arena to accommodate clients who sought service overseas. These agencies were principally from the United States. Branch agencies overseas were found to be an absolute necessity for anyone trying to sell goods in foreign countries. Too often companies learned that the successful appeals used "back home" were not effective in other countries. There was the need for persons staffing these overseas agencies to have a thorough understanding of the attitudes, customs and mores of those nations. These factors, along with rising nationalism and government regulations, were partially responsible for the forging of giant multinational agency conglomerates and the linkup of the world's major advertising forces.

The world marketer of today must understand the world customer of today. Ernest Dichter classifies the world customer into six market groups: 1) the contented countries (Scandinavian), where there are very few very rich, very few very poor, and a large middle class. Attitudes toward products in these countries are very rational because here products do not represent status;

2) the affluent countries (U.S., Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Canada), where people want greater individuality in their products. In such countries they dream of high quality, repair-proof, almost custom-tailored products. They like appliances, but here the automobile is not a status symbol. Status is a swimming pool, travel, education; 3) countries in transition (England, France, Italy, Australia, South Africa and Japan). In these countries we find a working class that is breaking out of their bondage and joining the comfortable middle class. Prestige still plays an important role, cars are pampered and there is a resistance to planned obsolescence; 4) revolutionary countries (Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Spain, China, Philippines). These countries are emerging from a very poor economic situation and are discovering industrialization. Here you have a large body of depressed economic groups, and the automobile is a definite status symbol; 5) primitive countries (recently liberated countries of Africa), where there is very little wealth, where most of the population is illiterate and ignorant and where their chief worry is self-sufficiency; and 6) the new class society (Russia and satellite countries). Here we find a class of bureaucrats who represent a new form of aristocracy, a slowly improving middle class becoming more interested in prestige products.

But Dichter's world customer is changing. The rise of nationalism, world inflation and the world energy crisis are having their effect in the marketplace. The International advertiser is in somewhat of a dilemma. He knows that today with high production costs, coupled with the growing economic ills of society, he must have a greater knowledge of his foreign customer if he is to prosper in business abroad.

For centuries man has preyed upon the weaknesses of his neighbor. Nations have taken advantage of the weaknesses of other nations. The United States must be counted among those that have prospered at the expense of other countries. As Lester Brown points out in his book, World Without Boundaries, societies have worked too long to keep other societies enslaved. If the business giants of the affluent countries expect to develop and retain the world customer, they must become more involved with his problems. They must strengthen the economy of his country so that he too can have a more affluent life.

Advertising has a unique opportunity to play an important role in educating the new world customer. Through advertising, he will, to be sure, learn the ways in which individual products can enhance his life. At the same time, however, he will also be forming lasting impressions of the world of big business. Let us hope that those impressions are created by truthfulness and high ethical standards.

Advertising Education in the United States:
A Survey of the Introductory Course

By E. S. Lorimer

Biographical note: Dr. Lorimer is now assistant professor in the School of Journalism at Southern Illinois University. Previously, she was on the journalism faculty at East Texas State University in Commerce. Her teaching areas include advertising principles, international communication and communication theory and research. She holds A.B. and M.Ph. degrees from the University of California, and the Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin.

Advertising education has recently been subject to criticism from all sides—from practitioners who think it is not practical enough to produce competent graduates,¹ to educators who think it is too practical to be academically respectable.²

The teacher of the introductory advertising course in most universities faces the whole problem in miniature. In his case, the controversy over advertising education is reduced to questions about the specific content of his course. Should he teach it simply as a survey of the history, philosophy and social implications of advertising, giving a broad, general background of the field? Or should he give the student a more practical orientation, stressing exercises in layout and copywriting and the actual planning of advertising campaigns? Or should it be a combination of both approaches?

A second question involves textbooks. Some are oriented toward business and marketing, some toward agencies and the advertising industry, some toward practical advertising problems with a stress on copywriting and layout techniques, and still others toward a broad overview of the field, putting more emphasis on educating advertising consumers than advertising practitioners.

So the teacher of the introductory course must choose both a course philosophy and a textbook which will express that philosophy. And if the problems of the teacher in choosing an approach to the introductory advertising course seem somewhat complicated, the problems faced by the department chairman in choosing an instructor for the course are equally perplexing. Again, the choices are similar. He must often choose between Ph.D.'s with little or no practical background and M.A.'s or even B.A.'s with practical experience in advertising.

As far as we could determine, little or no research has been done to discover what is actually being taught in these introductory advertising courses in American universities. This is true despite the fact that educators have been calling for such a study to help determine the major approaches to the teaching of the basic course.³ The purpose of this study was to gain information on both the teachers of the introductory courses and the courses themselves, and to discover the prevalent teaching methods and philosophies used in the basic courses.

Method. Questionnaires were sent to the 132 member schools of the Association for Education in Journalism. An additional 91 questionnaires were sent to individual faculty members who were members of AEJ and listed advertising as a teaching specialty in the 1973 AEJ directory.⁴ Also, an additional 32 questionnaires were sent to schools which noted on their responses that they had more than one faculty member teaching the introductory course.⁵ A total of 102 usable replies was received.⁶

The questionnaires included sections on the professor and his academic and practical background, the introductory course and how it is taught in the various schools, and the professor's teaching philosophy.

Findings. The most common academic rank held by respondents was assistant professor with 36, followed by associate professor (25), professor (21) and instructor (11). Most respondents held bachelor's and master's degrees in journalism. On the bachelor's level, the second highest number held degrees in English. Most of the Ph.D.'s listed were in mass communications. A large majority considered themselves either "extremely well prepared" or "well prepared" to teach the introductory course.

The respondents also heavily favored both academic and experience requirements for teaching the introductory course. The most common academic requirement listed was a master's degree, although a considerable number said a bachelor's degree should be acceptable if combined with experience in the advertising field. As to the amount of practical advertising experience that should be required, the teachers generally indicated one to five years.

The course. The most frequently listed names for the introductory course were Principles of Advertising or Advertising Principles (36); the second highest was Introduction to Advertising (20). Most respondents reported that it was offered at the junior level, although many offer it as a sophomore course.

Most introductory courses taught by the respondents were offered on demand by the students. The most commonly reported schedule for offering the introductory course included not only the fall and spring but also the summer semesters. Most respondents noted that the presence of nonjournalism or nonadvertising students in their introductory classes did not affect the way they taught the classes. Some noted that the presence of nonadvertising students made class discussions more interesting.

The most commonly used textbook was Wright, Warner and Winter's Advertising, used by 37 professors, followed by Kleppner's Advertising Procedure, used by 22, and Dunn's Advertising: Its Role in Modern Marketing, used by 12. Most reported satisfaction with the textbook they were using and had no plans to change.

The most frequently mentioned reasons for textbook selection were that the book was the "best available," "most up-to-date" or "most comprehensive." Many respondents were using a textbook selected by a department chairman or a departmental committee or a book used previously in the course. Of those who suggested changes in their textbooks, the most common complaint was that the book needed updating.

Most respondents noted that they required additional readings in the introductory course. The most frequently mentioned were Ad Age, other advertising periodicals and trade and professional journals. Most respondents did not require term papers of their students; of those who did, the specified length was generally under 20 pages.

Course philosophy. Of 90 teachers who answered the question on their philosophy of the introductory course, 32 said they viewed it as an introduction to the history, philosophy and social implications of advertising; 12 said they taught a practical, how-to-do-it course; and 46 said they viewed the course as a combination of both approaches and emphasized both theoretical and practical aspects. One professor noted:

Though I am personally more concerned with "philosophical and social knowledge of advertising" I find this becomes boring to students very quickly. I try to compromise and do a bit of this general background mixed in with the "real world" stuff which they seem to like--bringing in practitioners, showing radio and TV clips, slides of ads, etc.

A professor who stressed the how-to-do-it approach commented:

My thrust is to show how an effective advertising program is planned, researched and executed to fulfill social and psychological needs and wants of consumers. I have no illusion that students will be advertising experts after taking the course. But they should be aware of what is involved in advertising, know why and how it works, determine whether or not they wish to consider career opportunities in advertising, have a rudimentary copy and layout skill, and be more intelligent messages.

We spend no time on history or philosophy per se, other than to cite campaigns which succeeded or failed for one reason or another and to point out the purpose of advertising is to sell goods, services and ideas.

Another professor who employed the practical approach explained:

Our curriculum stresses "doing it." Most of my students have had radio and TV (and sometimes newspaper) production courses. I teach them to apply this to advertising. I try in the intro course to give them a smattering of everything. For instance, I think it's unfair to gloss over certain jobs in advertising, simply because an instructor doesn't think they are glamorous, like direct mail.

Those who taught advertising within the marketing framework (offered by the business, business administration or marketing departments) took a somewhat different view from those in journalism or mass communications programs, who were mainly concerned with preparing either practitioners or intelligent consumers of advertising. One marketing professor noted that his introductory advertising course was combination theory and practice but with a somewhat different slant. He explained:

Advertising is part of the marketing function and should be taught within the marketing framework. Principles of Marketing is a prerequisite for Principles of Advertising at this university.

Many students, unless they are advertising majors, will only take the introductory course. Therefore, it is necessary to provide those who will end up in some area of commerce and industry sufficient "principles" and a solid foundation for making intelligent management decisions (emphasis his) concerning advertising. They must be able to identify, define and analyze the market; do psychological analysis and research; and have a knowledge of mass media; etc.

Copy and layout should not be included in a principles course. These are specialized areas of advertising and should only be taught at advanced levels. We have too many incompetents masquerading as copywriters and layout artists now. We certainly do not need to produce any more who have the misconception that they can write effective copy, lay out an ad or even communicate effectively after an introductory course.

Most teachers saw their course as a combination of practical and theoretical approaches, with the philosophies differing according to individual curriculum of the university. The course generally leaned toward the practical in schools where only the introductory course was taught, and leaned toward the theoretical when the introductory course was the first in a sequence which later included specialized courses in techniques. One professor, from a school with only the introductory course, explained his approach:

This course is the only advertising course many of our journalism students will have. Thus, I am interested that they understand advertising's role in society and that they understand various aspects of the criticism often leveled against advertising. I am more concerned, however, that they know the basic procedures involved in creating an ad. Many of our students will work for small newspapers. In such a position they will sooner or later be called upon to draw up an ad. When that time comes, I hope they will at least know where to begin.

Also becoming popular in the larger schools, as indicated by the survey, are separate sections for majors and nonmajors, with the nonmajors' section mainly a broad overview of the institution of advertising and its social implications and the majors' section an introduction to further specialized study in the field.

Team teaching, audiovisuals and guest speakers were the most frequently mentioned methods of helping arouse student interest in the introductory courses. One professor shared this method of adding depth to the course presentation:

My own personal belief is that the professional people in the classroom add breath of life to advertising, in many students' opinion. So I always arrange for at least 25 per cent of the lectures

to be given by professionals from agencies, companies and media organizations. I assign them their topic some two months in advance, require them to make it as visual as possible (film, commercials, tapes, slides, whatever) and ask that all material become the property of the university at the end of the lecture. In this way I build our library of current materials, which are then available to any other professor for other courses. We have had excellent cooperation from the pros in this effort.

Conclusions. The study indicates that the purely practical how-to-do-it introduction to advertising course is usually combined with a more theoretical approach. Most teachers responding to the survey indicated that they introduce their students to practical layout and writing problems, and even let them try their hands at some writing, layout and campaign-planning assignments. But they viewed this as giving the students an opportunity to "get their feet wet" in advertising, not as an attempt to produce copy writers or layout artists of even minimal proficiency. In short, the respondents viewed the introductory course as just that--an introduction to advertising.

Footnotes

¹John T. Russell, "Is Advertising Education Relevant?" Saturday Review, March 13, 1971, pp. 94-101.

²Steuart Henderson Britt, "What is Wrong With Advertising Education?" Journalism Quarterly, Summer, 1967, pp. 319-25.

³Opinion expressed by Dr. S. Watson Dunn in an address at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Advertising at Norman, Oklahoma, April 14, 1972.

⁴Some of the educators listed with a teaching specialty in advertising did not teach the introductory course.

⁵While the introductory courses are standardized in some schools, in others the teaching philosophies, course content and even textbooks vary among the different sections of the introductory course.

⁶Seven replies were discarded. They represented schools with no advertising courses, questionnaires which were not filled out, schools with no introductory course as such and faculty members who completed the questionnaire with data about the wrong course.

Remarks by Ramon Pros

Biographical note: Mr. Pros is managing director of Darcy Advertising agency in Mexico, D.F. He studied business administration at Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico, D.F.

The following is a summary of his remarks, taken from the taped proceedings:

Mr. Pros noted the difficulty cited by students of receiving an ethical background in advertising in the university, and then being faced with practical problems, on the job in the advertising industry. He said the right amount of ethics and practical knowhow has not yet been achieved.

He noted that Universidad Iberoamericana communication students want more courses of a practical nature early in the curriculum, but he said the courses in humanities that they take early are important also.

In the Mexican educational system, advertising is not so specialized as it is in the United States, he said, adding that it is not easy for a student to come out of college and become established in a position of influence in the field of journalism. In advertising agencies in Mexico and much of Latin America, the trend is to try to operate with nationals, he said, predicting that the multinational advertising companies will use more local talent in the future.

Remarks by Joe F. Lewels

Biographical note: Dr. Lewels is chairman of the Department of Journalism at the University of Texas at El Paso. He has several years of journalism experience, and his teaching interests include international communication, advertising and mass media and society. He holds the B.A. from Texas Western University, the M.S.Ed. from Troy State University and the Ph.D. from the University of Missouri.

The following is a summary of his remarks, taken from the taped proceedings:

Although U.S. advertisers spend millions on marketing products to foreign people, they have not spent enough time and money of their own, he said. He noted that there are eight million Mexican-Americans and an additional seven million Spanish-speaking persons in the United States who have not received adequate attention from the advertising industry.

Advertising has ignored this and other minorities because it is geared primarily to the masses, Dr. Lewels said. He said the Mexican-American subculture maintains its identity much more than many other minorities do. One reason, he said, is that Mexican-Americans do not break their ties with Mexico. In El Paso, 58% of the population is Mexican-American, yet the advertising industry there is run by persons who know very little about the Mexican American culture. There are only one or two advertising executives of Mexican descent in the city.

He listed problems that he said resulted from such ignorance:

--Advertisers never thought Mexican-Americans were a good market; thus a large audience attuned to U.S. newspapers and broadcast stations has not been explored properly.

--Prejudice against Mexican-Americans and other minorities in the United States has been evident in stereotyped media content, and advertising has had its share of such prejudices. He cited examples of advertisements which belittled Mexicans. One TV commercial pictured a group of hot, bedraggled Mexican banditos riding on horseback. One bandito pulls out a can of Arid Extra Dry deodorant, and an Anglo voice is heard: "If it works for him, it will work for you." The ad, Dr. Lewels said, implies that Mexicans smell worse than Anglos. He discussed a newspaper advertising campaign for the Elgin wristwatch company which pictured Emiliano Zapata, a national hero of Mexico, as nothing more than a common thief. The ad, Dr. Lewels said, distorted history to sell watches. An executive of the watch company later apologized, and the campaign was discontinued.

Knowing the people one is advertising to in different cultures is extremely important, Dr. Lewels said; thus agencies should hire persons who have lived in those cultures. He said U.S. journalism schools, including some in his state of Texas, do not work hard enough to attract and recruit minority students.

Remarks by Frank N. Pierce

Biographical note: Dr. Pierce is professor and head of the Advertising Department at the University of Florida at Gainesville. He has more than 14 years of professional experience with major advertising companies and agencies. He has taught advertising courses of virtually every type, plus courses in public relations.

The following is a summary of Dr. Pierce's remarks, taken from the taped proceedings:

Noting that the advertising program at the University of Florida at Gainesville is one of the three largest in the United States in the number of majors, Dr. Pierce said he has long been interested in whether the basic advertising course changes the attitudes of students enrolled in it. To find out, he has been measuring students' attitudes toward advertising on the first day of class, and on the last day, by asking them to agree or disagree with seven statements. The statements, which have been used in research studies previously, are: 1) advertising is essential to American business, 2) advertising helps raise our standard of living, 3) advertising results in better products for the public, 4) in general, advertising results in lower prices, 5) advertising often persuades people to buy things they shouldn't buy, 6) in general, advertising presents a true picture of the product advertised, and 7) advertising often insults my intelligence.

More students tend to agree with statements 2, 3, 4 and especially 6 at the end of the course than at the beginning. More disagree with statement 5 at the end of the course. More than 95% agree with statement 1 at the beginning and end of the course.

Dr. Pierce said the measure can be conducted easily; he said he is interested in comparing the answers of students in different cultures.

Remarks by Milton Gross

Biographical note: Professor Gross is associate dean and professor in the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri. His teaching areas include advertising and graphics, and he has considerable professional experience. He holds B.S. and M.A. degrees from the University of Missouri.

The following is a summary of Professor Gross's remarks, taken from the taped proceedings:

Noting that he has been involved in the accreditation of journalism programs in the United States for years, Dean Gross reported briefly on efforts by the American Council on Education for Journalism (ACEJ) to upgrade the quality of advertising education.

The ACEJ is the body which accredits all undergraduate sequences (news-editorial, advertising and others) in U.S. journalism schools. Dean Gross said some 25 schools have accredited advertising sequences and that many others teach courses in advertising. The ACEJ attempts to upgrade advertising education by, among other things, setting standards for faculty, courses, libraries and other parts of such education. A personal inspection visit by a team of experts is made every six years to a school that seeks accreditation or renewed accreditation. Before that, the school must prepare a comprehensive report on its entire advertising program.